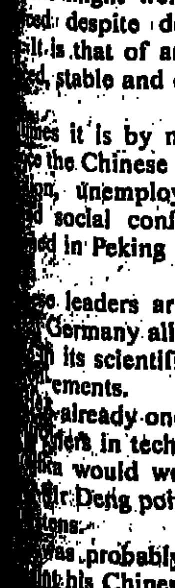


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Carstens returns from triumphant China trip

President Carstens was able to fly home from his state visit to China satisfied with ties between Bonn and Peking.

They have not for a long time been as free of problems as they are today. Past problems are forgotten and the two countries are largely agreed on world affairs.

Where they disagree, as on the Middle East and relations with the United States, they at least understand each other's position.

There are no disputes over Taiwan or the problems with mixed marriages. ...is on the increase despite China's ...regulation.'

This term stands for a reorganisation ...that has led to delays in and ...lations of major projects, but ...firms have been let off lightly.

The interest shown by the average ...se in state visits of this kind must ...e overestimated, but the Chinese ...gave its detailed and benevolent ...

...Chinese view of Germany, or ...one might well say, was surely ...ed despite domestic developments. It is that of an affluent, highly ...ed, stable and clean Federal Republic.

...times it is by no means easy to ...e the Chinese that the economic ...on, unemployment, bankruptcies and social conflicts occasionally ...ed in Peking newspapers really ...

...se leaders are doubtless gratified Germany allows China to participate in its scientific and technological achievements.

...already one of Peking's foremost ...ers in technical cooperation, ...ina would welcome even more, ...Mr Deng pointed out to Professor Carstens.

...was probably the only serious ...int his Chinese hosts made during the visit, and even it was levelled at the United States, which is applying more strictly the ban on exporting advanced technological know-how to communist countries, including China.

Bonn has concentrated, in China's case, on in-service training for specialists, on scientific exchange between universities, on setting up technical colleges in China and on awarding scholarships.

Initial successes are apparent, particularly in connection with the German-backed Tongji University in Shanghai.

They are badly needed by the Chinese leaders to defend the policy of opening China to foreign influence against opposition from domestic doubters and critics.

China has learnt lessons in foreign affairs, parting company both with cultural revolutionary isolation and, with the somewhat unsuccessful attempt to make war out to be inevitable.

The aim of the 'war is inevitable' line was to organise a universal united front against Moscow.

China today is keen to look further afield than its immediate neighbours, to adopt independent political positions and to engage more than in the past in dialogue with all sides.

This is a point to which the resumption of talks with the Soviet Union testifies, for instance.

This is the level at which China is interested, in terms of world affairs, in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Yet one wonders why several Chinese

Continued on page 2

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President Karl Carstens and Frau Veronica Carstens at the Great Wall of China. (Photo: dpa)

East Bloc media turn on Kohl policy speech

It was to be expected that the Soviet Union and other East Bloc media would be sharply critical of Chancellor Kohl's policy statement. (See page 3).

But that is no reason for Bonn to feel irritated. The East Bloc is only trying to influence German public opinion against what is alleged to be a policy of confrontation.

Yet even Helmut Schmidt, the former Chancellor, has said that Helmut Kohl planned no radical changes in *Ostpolitik*.

The Chancellor has no intention of mediating between the superpowers. He feels Germans are better looked after by close cooperation with Washington than by any kind of security partnership with Moscow.

The Soviet Union as usual has adopted a twofold approach toward Bonn. High-ranking Soviet politicians conferred with Herr Kohl in a businesslike manner in Bonn during his first week in office.

What one hears in Moscow does not indicate any likelihood of abrupt change in relations between the two countries either.

The Soviet media, on the other hand, reinforced by the media in East Berlin, Prague and Warsaw, have trained heavy artillery on Bonn with a view to creating uncertainty.

One aim is to exert influence on the domestic scene in Bonn until such time as a final decision has been taken on whether or not a general election is to be held in March.

Another objective of Soviet propaganda now and in future will be to heat emotions in the domestic debate on missile modernisation.

The repercussions on relations with the East of stationing new US missiles in Germany will naturally be painted in drastic terms.

So the Bonn government can expect to face a gale of propaganda from the East. Propaganda has always formed an important part of communist foreign policy, but it is and remains mere rhetoric.

Peter Seidlitz
(Bremer Nachrichten, 16 October 1982)

The new way

Chancellor Helmut Kohl (right) and his deputy and Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher shake hands in the Bundestag after Kohl had delivered a policy statement (story on page 3). (Photo: Süddeutscher Verlag)



■ WORLD AFFAIRS

Twenty years after Cuban crisis, lessons remain to be learned

The writer, Christoph Bertram, is a former director of the International Institute of Strategic Studies, in London.

Twenty years ago an American U 2 spy plane brought back film from a reconnaissance flight over the Caribbean that confirmed Washington's worst fears.

The Soviet Union, despite denials, was busy installing in Cuba ballistic missiles aimed at targets in the United States.

It was not the first time in the atomic age that hostilities between the nuclear giants seemed imminent, but never before had they been so close to the brink.

Those of us who were around at the time will recall with a sigh of relief how the crisis was contained.

President Kennedy deliberately refrained from replying to the gross Soviet provocation in kind by invading insubordinate Cuba.

Instead, he decided in favour of a naval blockade to head off Soviet missile freighters bound for the Caribbean island.

He undertook to respect the territorial integrity of Castro's Cuba, including the Soviet political presence, providing the Soviet Union dismantled its missile bases and withdrew its missiles from the island.

Mr Khrushchev gave in. Firmness, diplomacy and readiness to compromise triumphed over the risk of war.

The mixture of confrontation and diplomacy that made up the 1962 Cuban crisis determined more than the outcome of that particular crisis.

It has made its mark on the hopes and reality of the nuclear age for the past 20 years, and its legacy is still with us.

It has influenced reality because it gave the Soviet Union an additional incentive to aim at strategic and conventional parity with the United States.

It influenced hopes because the Cuban crisis brought home to a wider political consciousness the need for a settlement of the nuclear arms race.

The Cuban crisis marked the beginning of a decade of arms control. Both sides had been on the brink of nuclear war and sought to come to terms with nuclear reality by negotiation and agreement.

Agreements were reached in swift succession, starting with the 1963 treaty banning nuclear tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water.

Later that year the hot line scrambler phone linking Moscow and Washington was set up.

In 1976 the stationing of weapons of mass destruction in outer space was banned. A year later the non-proliferation treaty was signed.

In 1972 President Nixon and Mr Brezhnev signed Salt 1 in Moscow, limiting strategic arms and virtually dispensing with anti-missile systems.

But that marked the end of the arms control decade. Nothing has since really worked. Negotiations begin but fail to reach conclusions.

Salt 2 was finally signed in 1979 but fell foul of tension in East-West ties and has yet to be ratified.

Talks on mutual balanced force reduction in Central Europe began in 1973. Nine years later they have still to achieve results.

There have been many explanations to account for this fact, but the crucial factor must surely be that arms control has grown politically irrelevant.

Instead of being an instrument of policy in East-West relations (and that is all arms control can hope to be), it has increasingly emerged as a stopgap for the lack of a policy on East-West ties.

There is a striking contrast between the Cuban crisis and the decade that followed it.

The Soviet provocation was unacceptable to America at the time, and not just because of the new missile launching pads in the Caribbean.

The bone of contention, President Kennedy said on TV on 22 October 1962, was the unilateral, abrupt change in the status quo undertaken by the Soviet Union.

Such changes are indeed intolerable in the atomic age. Consistency and clarity are the indispensable groundwork for survival.

That was why the United States saw the solution of the Cuban crisis and the arms control moves that followed it as one unit.

It was less a matter of warding off specific threats than of arriving at a code of behaviour for the superpowers in world affairs.

At the height of the crisis one side did not threaten to make mincemeat of the other. There were, instead, calls for cooperation.

Mr Kennedy made the point lucidly in his reply to Mr Khrushchev: "If you are prepared to seriously discuss detente between Nato and the Warsaw Pact," he wrote, "we will be ready to consider, with our allies, all suitable proposals."

The momentum of arms control has been lost due to the decline of this political concept.

A number of talks are about to enter into a fresh session, but they all seem like vestiges of another era, of which technical complexes alone remain, without political foundations.

They are the MBFR talks in Vienna and the two rounds of talks between America and Russia in Geneva on intermediate-range nuclear forces and strategic arms limitation.

It is small wonder they are all controversial among experts too. Is there any point in continuing with negotiations on conventional troop cuts when the quality and deployment doctrines of forces have grown more important than mere numerical considerations? Is it worthwhile keeping talks going when the decline in European birth rates will before long automatically bring about the troop cuts about which delegations are currently fighting a rearguard battle? Is it of crucial importance whether the Start talks in Geneva reduce the two sides' strategic nuclear arsenals from 14,000 to 10,000 warheads, as called for by President Reagan, or from 4,500 to 3,600 carrier vehicles, as proposed by the Russians?

Even if agreement were reached on the zero option in medium-range missiles in Europe, as advocated by Nato, neither the West nor the Soviet Union would be safe from attacks by similar weapons.

The zero option would merely mean no Soviet medium-range missiles would be aimed at Western targets in return for US medium-range missiles not being stationed in Western Europe, within striking distance of targets in the Soviet Union.

Arms, like arms control, cannot be fully assessed outside their overall political context.

This is the reason both for the emotional resistance to the nuclear deterrent in the Western peace debate and for the scepticism on arms control that, tellingly, is shared by left-wingers in Europe and right-wingers in America.

Once there is no longer a Western political concept behind cooperation in East-West ties, arms control as an instrument cannot be politically pigeonholed or the deterrent be politically understood.

Disarmament, taken on its own, is seen by right-wingers as a one-sided advance concession to the Soviet adversary. The deterrent, taken on its own, is seen by left-wingers as a macabre, dangerous war game.

Even if there were to be a surprise agreement tomorrow in Vienna or Geneva, the malaise felt by public opinion in the West would not be overcome as long as the West lacked a common *Ostpolitik* concept.

This is the point on which action must be taken if arms control is to regain meaning. We must set aside the Atlantic cacophony of individual measures.

Pipelines here, sanctions there, security conference here and Nato missile modernisation there are building blocks in a strategy. But they can never be assembled into a building as long as the architect's plan is missing.

We may well wonder whether America and Europe are capable of reach[ing] agreement on such a plan.

The Western allies may argua[bly] have become tangled up in individ[ual] issues because they have failed to see [the] link between their fundamental co[n]cepts.

Yet these concepts must be redu[ced] to a common denominator despite [the] difficulties that arise, and in the fi[nal] analysis definitions must be arrived [at] on both confrontation and cooperat[ion] with the Soviet Union.

This was a point George F. Ken[nan] was right in emphasising in his Fr[ank]furt speech accepting the peace prize [of] the German Booksellers' Association.

To this extent Bonn Foreign Mini[ster] Hans-Dietrich Genscher is not far [re]moved from Mr Kennan.

In his article in the Fall 1982 issue [of] *Foreign Affairs* Herr Genscher not o[nly] called for an overall Western strate[gy;] he also outlined one.

The new Bonn government cannot [af]fored to rest on these laurels. It is [not] enough to advocate Nato missile [mo]dernisation and clamour for US lead[er]ship.

Bonn must thoughtfully and co[ns]tructively urge usable results at the [Ge]neva talks especially the concept of [a] ble deterrent and cooperative dete[nte] which alone can result in any ag[ree]ments reached making sense.

It would be too risky to wait for [the] next crisis to teach us the Cuban les[son] again in even more dangerous circu[ms]tances.

Christoph Bertra[m]

(Die Zeit, 15 October [1982])

Euromissiles existing and planned

Stocks of land-based medium-range missiles

Western Europe | **Soviet Union**

1 symbol stands for roughly 20 missiles

French S 2s and S 3s: 18

SS 4s: 38[?]

SS 5s: 60

SS 20s (three warheads each, mobile launch[ers]): 160

Neither sides' nuclear sub missiles are included

Modernisation plans

Pershing 2s (mobile launchers): 108

Cruise missiles (mobile launchers): 464

Missile type	In use since	Range in km	Target accura[cy]
SS 4	1959	1,900	slight
SS 5	1961	4,100	moder[ate]
SS 20	1977	5,000	fine
S 2/S 3	1971/1980	3,000	fine
Pershing 2	from 1983	1,800	v. fine
Cruise missile	from 1983	2,500	v. fine

Continued from page 1

politicians made such a point of favouring German reunification in their discussions with President Carstens.

Can they have consciously run the risk of upsetting the Soviet Union, with which Peking is back on talking terms?

Chairman Hu, in his visions of a politically and economically united, strong Germany, even went further than West German politicians are prepared to think aloud these days.

But these asides must not be overrated in the overall context of the state visit. Chairman Hu also referred to divided countries in general, thereby linking the German Question with that of Taiwan, in which he is more directly intersted.

Helmut Opletal

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 18 October 1982)

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HOME AFFAIRS

Chancellor Kohl outlines blueprint for the nation

[Less] government and more self help is [Chan]cellor Helmut Kohl's formula for [Ger]many. He spelled out in a Bundestag [polic]y speech what he expected both of [the ce]ntre-right coalition and of society. [The] question for the future is not how [muc]h state can do for its people. The [quest]ion for the future is how freedom, [dyna]mism and self-reliance can develop [...]," he said. He appealed to people to [make] sacrifices and help the coalition. [He b]lamed the Social Democrats for al[lowin]g economic crisis to develop and [outlin]ed an emergency programme to [create] jobs, provide investment incentives and support the social welfare system despite cash cutbacks. He also promised "a humane aliens policy" that would stem immigration. Chancellor Kohl called for closer ties with Washington. He endorsed the former government's policy on Nato, disarmament and European unity. The government would carry through the double Nato decision to support negotiations over missile reductions and, if necessary, to deploy new medium range missiles. The opposition SPD attacked the government programme for "a human society with more freedom and less state" as a medley of ideas without a concept.

[Th]e new Chancellor's first major [B]undestag speech was colourless [and] lacklustre. He gave the impression [of] a politician who has reached his [lim]it of a man already buckling un[der] the strain.

[A n]ew government must be given a [chanc]e: but it must not make it too hard [for p]eople to give it that chance. Kohl [shou]ld not be surprised if, following his [speec]h, doubts about the stability of his [gover]nment grow.

[Koh]l neither used this chance for a [drama]tic "blood, toil, tears and [sweat]" appeal nor did he make use of [his ab]ility to wax emotional and lend [credi]bility to the vaunted "courage to [face t]he future."

[The]re was a trace of both these ele[ment]s in his speech, but they weren't [cle]arly enough.

[Thi]s indecisiveness is party due to the [fact th]at the new chancellor is aware of [sh]aky ground: the FDP remains un[sta]ble; the fate of its chairman, Hans-[Diet]rich Genscher is uncertain; and [Franz] Josef Strauss, the third coalition [part]ner, is making himself increasingly [...]d.

[The]re was little that was new in [hi]s speech when it came to specific [...] matters. He was most concrete in [the pa]rt of his address that dealt with [fisc]al and treasury decisions.

[Th]e announced stock-taking of Hel[mut] Schmidt's legacy boiled down to a [...]tion of data on the economic posi[tion o]f the country.

[An]d even in handing out blame, the [Chan]cellor was relatively restrained. [Ther]e is, of course, a good reason for [this:] Count Lambsdorff, his Economic [Affairs] Minister, was partly responsible [for th]e economic policy of the past [...].

[The]re is some method in the cau[tiousne]ss of the address. He was evi[dentl]y going of his way not to add to [Hans-]Dietrich Genscher's problems.

[Th]e statement on the new govern[ment's] aliens policy was restricted to [genera]lities and declarations of intent. [Bound] by the coalition agreement, he [said no]thing at all about judiciary poli[cy an]d internal security and not much [...] on the subject of the environ[ment.] He thus made a point of skirting [the co]ntroversial.

[Gen]scher's handwriting was obvious [in for]eign and security policy. Here, [Kohl] said little that could not have [been e]ndorsed by the Social Democrats [...]. But there was a certain shift of [empha]sis towards closer ties with the [...].

[...]tical day-to-day politics will show whether the scope Helmut Schmidt gave this country in matters of world politics — a scope he knew how to use — will be forfeited or not.

The instability of the "new majority" was evident even in this field: the applause from the FDP benches was very sparing indeed. There were times when it seemed that even those who had backed the switch of coalition partners had not quite come to terms with their new role and hesitated to applaud the former Opposition Leader who was now the Chancellor.

There was none of the inspiration that any new government expects from its first major policy statement in parliament. This was not only due to the difficult tasks the government has shouldered and the fact that sacrifices are called for. After all, even this could inspire by its very challenge.

Kohl went out of his way to speak of hope, faith and self confidence and to call on the citizens to step up their efforts.

But a government that has come about under these circumstances cannot convey optimism — if for no other reason because nobody really knows how long it will last.

The widespread scepticism will be dispelled only if the new government is voted back into office in the promised 6 March elections. But until then, steps aimed at helping growth will fail. But this is not the only area in which the conservatives' refusal to accept Schmidt's offer of immediate new elections will backfire.

As things are, the government will be viewed with reservations for the next six months and will be unable to fulfil its promise of a new beginning.

Kohl's speech — its concept, its content and its effects — has made this quite clear.

Joachim Worthmann

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 14 October 1982)

Emphasis placed firmly on shoring up the Alliance

Chancellor Helmut Kohl has shifted the emphasis of his foreign and security policy towards the Western Alliance and friendship with America.

The new foreign policy direction becomes obvious from his words: "We shall take German-American relations out of the twilight."

Though even Schmidt's policy statement of 24 November 1980 stated that the partnership with the USA was the "essence of the Atlantic Alliance," Kohl went a step further by saying: "The Alliance is the core of German *Staatsräson* (statecraft)." It was obvious that this went too far for some Social Democrats.

In keeping with this statement, the Chancellor "unreservedly" endorsed the 1979 double Nato decision, stressing that US missiles should be deployed should negotiations on medium range missiles break down.

Kohl's praise of his predecessor Helmut Schmidt, who was instrumental in bringing about the Nato decision, was more than just political politeness: it was intended as a warning to those in the SPD who opposed the Nato decision.

Continuity was the dominant element in the chancellor's statements on disarmament and arms control, the CSCE and the further comenting of the European Community.

His words indicated a deeper commitment to the political development of the EEC than could be gathered from the 1980 policy statement.

On the other hand, the friendship with France that Schmidt had stressed in his 1980 policy statement received no mention in Kohl's address though he demonstratively emphasised this by his going to France immediately after taking office.

Another thing he did not mention was Bonn's Middle-East policy. This was defined in the coalition paper.

Kohl's statement that the Nato principle was one for all and all for one and that was "security partnership" must be seen as a review of Schmidt's concept of "security partnership" which he frequently used in connection with the Soviet Union.

The concept of "genuine détente, dialogue and cooperation as the substance of a continued development of relations with Moscow," as laid down in the coalition agreement, recurred in Kohl's Bundestag address.

There were certain limiting factors in that part of his speech that dealt with trade relations with the East Bloc "in accordance with the Harmel Report, the Bonn alliance declaration and the Versailles Summit agreements to the effect that Western security agreements should be taken into account."

But this did not go as far as the passage in the coalition paper that called for "balanced and dependable benefits and counter-benefits" in relations with the GDR.

This formula was not mentioned in Kohl's policy statement. The Chancellor put considerably more emphasis than his predecessor did in 1980 on overcoming the division of Germany. He stressed that "Berlin is the symbol of the openness of the German question" — something Brandt and Schmidt played down.

There was also more emphasis than in 1980 on support for West Berlin.

Chancellor Kohl promised improved cooperation and the honouring of contractual obligations with the GDR, not with a view to some vague political objectives but for the good of the "people who are separated from each other."

Bernt Conrad

(Die Welt, 14 October 1982)

Wide variety of reactions to speech

Hamburger Abendblatt

Chancellor Helmut Kohl's policy speech has met with widely differing responses: approval by business and stiff rejection on many issues by organised labour; the disabled; war victims and their next-of-kin; and pensioners.

Ernst Breit, chairman of the trade union federation (DGB), criticised the employment programme. He said that the objectives of creating new jobs and preserving the system of social benefits could not be achieved by the measures envisaged by the government.

Breit said that Kohl was primarily interested in bolstering business and that "it is therefore not surprising that the necessary further development of the Co-determination Act was not mentioned with a single word."

The national federation of German industry (BDI), on the other hand, sees Kohl's policy speech as an encouraging sign of the determination to "overcome the long mismanagement in matters of economic and fiscal policy."

The standing conference of German industry and commerce was more restrained, saying that there were a few, "correct" elements in the government programme but that the measures the government has opted for do not go far enough.

The trades association says that the government programme could improve the investment climate and provide a stable foundation from which to fight unemployment.

Farmers association president Constantin von Heeremann said he hoped the new government would bring about a climate of credibility for its social and economic policy.

The association of war and military service victims (VdK) said the six-month freeze on pensions and war victim's benefits was unacceptable.

The cutback in the social sector would hit those sections of the population whose available incomes have been pared down dramatically due to price increases and taxation.

Hans Mayr, deputy chairman of the metalworkers union, IG Metall, spoke of "flailing around in matters of social policy." The unilateral austerity measures, he said, have programmed social unrest.

The German white-collar union welcomed the clear avowal to uphold the autonomy of the parties to collective bargaining while criticising the increase of VAT as socially unjust.

The national banking federation termed the government's programme a first step towards improved conditions for private investments.

The civil servants federation approves of the government's civil service programme in principle.

And the Bundeswehr association has promised to support the government in its bid to help soldiers rights.

dpa

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 14 October 1982)

■ HOME AFFAIRS

Free Democrats' brittleness revealed by failure in Bavarian election

The Free Democrats have been voted out of the Bavarian assembly. They polled only 3.5 per cent of the votes polled in the *Land* election (6.2 per cent in 1978), less than the crucial 5 per cent minimum. This comes on the heels of the Hesse elections, where the FDP also failed to get 5 per cent. In Bavaria, the Greens (4.6 per cent) also failed to get above the limit. The two main parties, Franz Josef Strauss' ruling Christian Social Union and the Social Democrats roughly held their own over the last poll in 1978 and are the only parties represented in the Assembly. The CSU won 58.3 per cent of the poll, compared with 59.1 per cent last time and have 133 assembly representatives (129); the SPD took 31.9 per cent (31.4) and have 71 representatives (65).

Election results in Bavaria cannot be said to have come as a surprise. The Free Democrats were thrown out of the state assembly in Munich because of what has been happening in Bonn.

There can be no doubt that most voters strongly disapprove of the decision by FDP leader Hans-Dietrich Genscher to switch sides.

The emotions triggered by the change of government in Bonn are not dying.

Two points arise. First, the survival of the FDP hangs more in the balance than ever. It is torn by strife and there are no signs of wounds healing.

Second, because of this, the new Bonn coalition of Christian and Free Democrats is in jeopardy.

Both will be in trouble if a general election is held next March, as the new government has promised.

If it isn't, allegations of treachery will bedevil the Bonn government for the remaining 18 months of the present Bundestag's life-span.

Serious though the blow to the FDP was at the polls in Bavaria, the extraordinary party conference in Schwäbisch Hall outlined the party's predicament even more drastically.

It was clear at the conference that wheeler-dealing in Bonn still rankles with ordinary members of the party.

Rank-and-file dissatisfaction continues to be levelled at Herr Genscher.

The FDP leader has emerged as a negative symbol of Liberal credibility, as a household word for a turncoat and a man with few friends and few still willing to speak out in his defence.

Even a bid to replace him by Wolfgang Mischnick, FDP floor leader in the Bundestag and a man who has emerged as a credible figure from the party's mid-stream change of horse in Bonn, would have little hope of success.

The rift in FDP ranks goes much deeper than disputes over the party leadership. The split in the party has emerged, in political, programme terms, as an insuperable crisis.

Names merely stand for the issues involved, and the signs are that the dispute will continue, reaching a climax at the Berlin party conference in November.

What this means where Bonn is concerned is that the Kohl-Genscher coalition could well come apart at the seams, certainly as it now stands.

Fears along these lines have gained weight from the unexpectedly good showing of Herr Strauss's CSU at the polls in Bavaria.

The Bavarian leader might, some will have hoped (arguably including Christian Democrats), have been taught a lesson by his electorate.

But he wasn't. His party retained absolute majority. Franz Josef St... improved his bargaining position at national level.

It is high time, he says, that the party disappeared from the pol... scene, leaving voters with a clear ch... between the two major parties.

Herr Strauss can be sure to try ensure that a general election is held March. He and his supporters feel would stand a fair chance of gaining absolute majority in an election which the FDP was given its marching orders once and for all.

It is too early to forecast what this may mean for Chancellor Kohl, but position is certainly none the easier after the Bavarian results.

Who or what may yet save the FDP's bacon? Oddly enough, only ... Strauss and his tactics aimed at en... ing the CDU/CSU will be able to ... alone.

It seems reasonable to assume ... many CDU voters are not in favour ... the CSU gaining even more we... which would mean abandoning lib... viewpoints even more radically than CDU/CSU-FDP coalition already ... done.

So hope lies, for the FDP, in vo... all over the country again viewing Free Democrats (and voting for th... as a liberal counterweight to conser... tive views in the coalition.

But they cannot be sure of the co... tion working.

The disappearance of the FDP wo... mean a substantial change in the p... political landscape, but it wouldn't ... state crisis.

Oskar Fehrenbach

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 11 October 1982)

Hamburg SPD goes for a snap poll

Hamburg looks like going to the polls again in December. Burgomaster Klaus von Dohnanyi has called for fresh elections. He has headed an SPD minority government in the city since June but been unable to come to terms with the Greens, the environmentalist group which hold the balance of power in the city council.

Hamburg's Social Democrats are in a hurry for once. They plan to hold a snap election before Christmas after rejecting, 14 days ago, a call by the Opposition CDU to go to the polls again.

There are two main reasons why the SPD has changed its mind.

One is that the Social Democrats feel, after the Hesse poll, they might do better. The other is that negotiations with the Greens, or environmentalists, were marking time despite progress.

For the SPD minority government the budget debate would have been a game of chance it could not have afforded to take part in.

Fresh elections seemed a distinct possibility in any case, so Mayor Klaus von Dohnanyi felt the time had come to try and improve the party's position in Hamburg.

Prospects of a better showing are much more favourable than they were at the last elections in June, when the CDU made most gains.

Hamburg's SPD argues, not without reason, that developments in Bonn will give the party a shot in the arm. But will the balance of power be any different?

Despite Bonn it is most unlikely that either of the two major parties will gain ab absolute majority as long as there is a third party in the city council.

The third party will probably be the Greens again, and not the FDP. A Grand Coalition (of the two major parties), as suggested by the CDU, seems an unlikely prospect.

The changes in Bonn make it seem improbable. So do the differences between the two parties in Hamburg and Herr von Dohnanyi's strict opposition to the idea.

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 11 October 1982)

The meaning of the result in Munich

Political strategists of every hue are busy trying to interpret the Bavarian election results as favouring their side and being a well-earned slap in the face for the others.

They too often tend to forget that comparisons don't work. Bavaria is of strictly limited value as a national yardstick.

It is a law unto itself, and it is much more difficult to make comparisons and draw parallels with Bavaria than with any other part of the country.

Neither historians nor sociologists have convincingly come up with reasons, but the fact remains that Bavaria is deeply conservative.

The CSU's real achievement is that it succeeded in uniting all strands and currents of Bavarian conservatism, ranging from Franconian Protestant nationalism to Upper Bavarian separatism.

As a rule this range would be too much for a popular party to span, but the CSU can lay claim to an even more striking achievement.

It has harnessed the reluctance to take part in debate or decision-making that is a hallmark of this kind of conservatism.

The CSU is a party run strictly from the top, with Herr Strauss, its leader, firmly in control.

CSU leaders identify themselves with Bavaria to a degree that would otherwise be barely conceivable in a democratically-governed country.

The CSU truly is, in an unaccustomed sense of the term, the Bavarian state party.

But the election results have shown that there is a limit to the voter potential of even such an unusual party.

The CSU's 62 per cent of votes in 1972 was a stroke of good luck. It has since averaged 58 per cent.

Election performance has been changed neither by Herr Strauss's four years as Prime Minister nor by a stranglehold on Bavarian radio and TV.

Yet CSU strength at the polls is so stable that excitement in Bonn and elsewhere has failed to influence turnout one way or the other where CSU voters are concerned.

So Herr Strauss was wrong in claiming that the results bore out his demand, overruled by CDU and FDP, for an immediate general election.

Fifty-eight-per-cent support for the CSU in Bavaria is no guide whatever to whether the CDU and CSU can expect to gain an absolute majority in a general election.

The Greens' failure to poll five per cent gives the established parties no cause to lean back with a sigh of relief and feel the environmentalist challenge has been warded off.

Four per cent in Bavaria can only mean that the Greens stand a fair chance of polling five per cent or more in a general election and getting into the Bundestag.

So the CSU's success and the Greens' apparent failure are of little national importance, and the Social Democrats' showing does not prove much either.

The SPD benefited from continued dissatisfaction among Social and Free Democratic voters with the way power changed hands in Bonn.

This gave the Social Democrats ... boost in Hesse a fortnight earlier. ... Bavaria the bonus was much less ... ked.

It seems reasonable to assume ... the SPD share of the vote in Bav... will be its best showing for some tim...

Given the sociological starting po... the overwhelming strength of the C... and the shortage of SPD talent in Ba... ria, the Social Democrats cannot exp... to do much better there for the time ... ing.

For the Free Democrats, on the ot... hand, the Bavarian results are of ov... riding national importance.

Opinion polls bear out the fairly ... vious conclusion that FDP suppor... view local polls in terms of general el... tion yardsticks.

Free Democratic support was lo... in Bavaria, clearly showing that onl... rump remains loyal to the party.

At a time of change the FDP sta... to lose, as former general secreta... Karl-Hermann Flach and Günter V... heugen noted, from not aiming at m... deep-seated support.

The Free Democrats have failed ... present a truly Liberal programme d... gned to appeal to a wider public in ... long term (and to keep to it).

So FDP leaders are wrong in co... plaining that they can no longer co... emotions that have run riot. All ... means is that voters don't deserve ... FDP.

The implication is that the electo... is too stupid to fully understand wh... going on in Bonn.

If the Bavarian election results h... proved anything with regard to Bonn ... is that the FDP must take a long, h... look at itself unless it is to disapp... entirely.

Rudolf Grosskopf

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 12 October 1982)

LABOUR

Woman takes over as head of big public sector union

...the first time, a woman has been ...ected head of a German trade ... Monika Wulf-Mathies, 40, suc... Heinz Kluncker at the powerful ... and transport workers' union, ... Kluncker has retired because of ill ...

...union, the second largest in Ger... after the metal-workers' union, ...all, has always had the image of ...man's union".

...the choice of not only a woman, ...academic, has given journalists a ...ity.

... Hamburg daily *Hamburger ...blatt* pondered whether ... could take the place of ..." and a news agency correspon... said he could detect a whiff of per... instead of the smell of the stables.

... delegates to the special ÖTV ...ss in Wiesbaden — 90 per cent of ...men — had far fewer prejudices ... the press about a woman candi...

... Wulf-Mathies herself said: ...not standing for the post as a ... but as an active trade ...ist." She added: "A woman of to... has a lot more staying power than a ..."

...ns Kluncker who, to everybody's ...se, suggested his 40-year-old col...e, a university graduate with a ...ate whom he had personally lur... a major union job from a position ... Bonn Chancellery.

... was the more surprising because ...fried Merten, an expert on collecti...rgaining, had long been consid... the next in line.

...since the union executive board ...able to decide on a nomination, ...ker suggested that both be nomi...

...media more or less agreed that ...lection of Monika Wulf-Mathies ... the advent of a new type of ...official. But they are not quite ... because the successors of such ...veterans as Eugen Loderer, Karl ...child and Heinz-Oskar Vetter ...onists steeped in the old tradi... of organised labour.

...xample is Kurt von Haaren who ...ded Ernst Breit as head of the ... workers union when Breit was ... chairman of the German Trades ... Federation (DGB).

... Haaren belongs to the same ge... as Wulf-Mathies, but he rose ... union ranks.

... election of Frau Wulf-Mathies ...ly reflects a structural change in ... where the proportion of women ...s has risen from 18 to 27 per ...

...gh the top men at the Stuttgart ...ffice of ÖTV were worried about ...branded as an "association of ...ics," there can be no overlook... fact that, apart from the teachers ... ÖTV has more academics such ...ical doctors, lawyers and psycho... and white collar workers than ...er German union.

... Kluncker took office in 1964, ...cent of the union's 900,000 mem... were blue-collar workers, 27 per ...hite-collar workers and 9 per cent ...servants.

...gs are different today. Of the 1.2m members, 49 per cent are blue-collar and 43 per cent white-collar.

This reflects some real changes though it also reflects the fact that the employers themselves changed the status of their staff in the hope that white-collar workers would be more status than class conscious.

Spreading rationalisation in offices and hospitals forced the union to keep pace with structural changes in the public sector.

Even before she became a full-time union official, Frau Wulf-Mathies demonstrated how to rally new groupings when she organised an active ÖTV group at the Chancellery.

When she was put in change of her union's health policy she started a drive dubbed "The Humane Hospital" showing how to recruit new members with activities for which, as a delegate to the 1980 ÖTV congress put it, "we would have been branded as rabble rousers only six years ago."

The further development of such drives and the stepped up inclusion of ÖTV grassroots in drafting the union's policy ranks among the most important items in the new chairman's policy.

Monika Wulf-Mathies has promised that she will resort to industrial action if necessary to support union demands; and to do so she has little choice but to go to the grassroots.

An initial trial of strength is already in the offing: the union sees the new Bonn government's announcement that it intends to restrict civil service pay increases to two per cent even before the next round of collective bargaining as a provocation.

To make matters worse, Bonn has hinted that, if collective bargaining results in a pay deal higher than this figure, it would respond by cutting down on the number of available posts.

ÖTV deputy chairman Karl-Heinz Hoffmann has revealed what the union's strategy will be. At the Wiesbaden congress he said: "Anybody who wants to settle his policy regarding posts via collective bargaining deals will get exactly that."

But before taking action the union wants to see what the next government steps will be.

The ÖTV has always delayed charting a definite course before the sensitive ritual of coordinating pay and other demands of its sub-organisations has been completed.

But Frau Wulf-Mathies has jumped the gun by already announcing some of the points to be negotiated in collective bargaining.

"We must get away from thinking in pigeonhole categories. This means that our social demands must pay a greater role in collective bargaining."

These social demands include the humanisation of work, which she sees as an added "mobilisation possibility."

One of the first points to be tackled in this sector could be the long expired agreement on "protection from rationalisation in public sector work."

But to turn these ideas into a viable concept that can be put forward in collective bargaining the new chairman of ÖTV will need the close cooperation of Herr Merten, the expert on collective bargaining.

Monika Wulf-Mathies... heads a changing organisation. (Photo: Sven Simon)

All this will take a long time and this is one of the main reasons why Heinz Kluncker backed Frau Wulf-Mathies rather than her 54-year-old rival.

She knew before her election that she would become her own worst "exploiter" by accepting the post. But she is undeterred by the fact that her predecessor wrecked his health as leader.

Asked about humanising her own work, she had no better answer than to say that she would simply have to plan her work as efficiently as possible.

Thomas Kröter

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 10 October 1982)

Sharp increase in workers on short shifts

The number of people working short shifts is growing sharply. In August there were 326,000. In September there were 583,000.

Some people enjoy their unexpected leisure time, but most fear that it is just the sign of worse to come: unemployment.

The sharp rise was mainly because of the motor industry, and the Federal Labour Office now expects that components suppliers will be the next affected.

Short shift benefits are a major element of the social security system. They are financed through the unemployment insurance and subsidised with federal funds.

According to the law, the function of these benefits is to prevent lay-offs when economic conditions make it temporarily impossible for a firm to work to capacity.

It is up to the employer or the works council to apply to the Labour Office for benefits after reaching agreement on the extent of short shift work. This is mostly done informally through an internal agreement, but in some cases the employer is forced to terminate and redraft work contracts.

The Labour Office pays short-shift workers the same pro rata unemployment benefits that would be due to an unemployed person: 68 per cent of the last net pay though of course only for that part of the work week that is not paid by the employer.

Any extra income must be reported to the Labour Office. Half of the net amount is then deducted from the benefits.

But this does not apply to the extra pay the employer grants a workers in short shift.

According to the Bonn Labour Ministry, some 15 per cent of short shift workers draw such extra pay. As a rule, employers try to subsidise unemployment benefits to the point of making them correspond to between 75 to 95 per cent of the last pay cheque.

About 62 per cent of the nation's labour force is covered by collective bargaining deals in case of short shift work. Most of these deals date back to the time before 1979;' and there has been little change since then.

As part of the new austerity laws passed at the beginning of this year, short-shift benefits must now be offset against overtime. And benefits for public holidays were dropped years ago because some employers made a point of running short shifts just around Christmas time.

Another regulation provides that holidays outstanding from the previous year must be given priority over short shift work.

And, finally, short shift workers must be available to the Labour Office for placement in another job — just as any fully unemployed person.

But this regulation has no practical meaning even for highly skilled workers, considering today's situation on the labour market.

There is no uniform pattern to short shift work, nor does it coincide with general unemployment.

Since 1969, when short shift work began, the annual average of short shift workers reached a peak figure of 773,000 in 1975 and a low of 88,000 in 1979. This was followed by a rise to 347,000 last year.

The anticipated annual average for 1982 is 500,000. But the average for the first nine months of this year is already 447,000 and the peak usually comes towards the end of the year and in February and March.

At present, it is primarily workers in the auto and mechanical engineering industries (91,000 and 75,000 respectively in September) who are affected. These industries are followed by electrical engineering (68,000) metalworkers (61,000) and woodworkers (44,000).

The periods of short shift work are growing longer. In Lower Saxony, for instance, the proportion of short shift workers for periods of more than six months rose from 10 per cent to 27 per cent from June 1981 to June 1982.

The proportion of workers whose shifts have been cut by more than 50 per cent a week rose from four per cent to 11 per cent.

The official reason given by the Labour Office is that industry's order books have shrunk. But the employers organisations say that short shift work is a major indicator of the economic mood. The high percentage of short shift workers at present, they say, is a clear indication of the poor state of the economy.

Today's short shift quota is lower than in 1974/75, indicating that the business community now has less faith in the near future than it did then because they are laying off rather than putting workers on short shift.

Strictly speaking, short shift work means shorter working hours on partial pay at the expense of the insured. The

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■ THE ECONOMY

Kohl government's plans come under fire



The Bonn government's economic advisory council has criticised measures proposed by the new Kohl administration.

It says in a special report that the planned increase of value added tax (VAT) from 13 to 14 per cent should be delayed from next year until 1984. Otherwise it would hinder business and dampen consumption.

The council says plans to keep on subsidising construction cannot be justified. The money poured into housing subsidies prevents what cash is available from going where it is most urgently needed, it says. The government says the subsidies will create jobs.

The council, known as The Five Wise Men, assesses the situation as it is, not how the government would like it to see it. It hat not begun a war of differing expert opinion, it has kept clear of polemics and it clearly wants to inspire confidence and give economic commonsense a chance.

In doing this, the council has resorted to a trick which, although it is not new, is bound to calm fears: its long-term proposals are bound to be painful for many people, so it has coupled them with a short-term programme to boost demand through borrowing.

This way, the report caters to both sides. The followers of a supply-side policy can go along with it because the medium-term cost reduction and investment promotion envisaged in the report ensures production; and those who impatiently call for short-term spending programmes also get what they want.

These ideas have never been controversial among economists, but they were always drowned in the frenzy of day-to-day politics.

Reactions are different this time. The report says the old government ushered in the consolidation of the budget before the change although it foundered on its inability to cement this through a signal of confidence.

Conversely, the new government is given an advance payment in terms of confidence, though the report also contains some harsh criticism regarding details.

Here, the government is put under considerable pressure to come up with sound reasons for its moves. After all, raising taxes in the midst of a recession can hardly be regarded as beneficial to the economy.

One of the main points of criticism in the report is the intended increase of VAT.

According to the coalition agreement between CDU/CSU and FDP, VAT is to go up from 13 to 14 per cent in mid-1983.

If all of the increase is passed on to the consumer, demand will sag and the inflation rate will go up. If it is not passed on, business profits will go down and jobs will be endangered.

The Five Wise Men say that there will be a blend of both and that demand will go down and so will profits.

Initially, these two effects will be stronger than the desired stimulation of investment that is to be financed with this added tax — apart from leading to price and wage increases.

It is doubtful, however, whether extending the envisaged compulsory loan to the government to those in the medium income brackets (DM20 000 for singles and DM40 000 for couples) could provide a better solution.

The council are against the constantly rising subsidies for housing construction.

As they see it, this would amount to wrong price signals for housing as a "commodity" in short supply.

The billions worth of subsidies, they say, also gloss over the actual unprofitability, thus preventing the available capital from flowing where it is most urgently needed to engender growth. The council speaks of a "mis-channelling".

According to the government, however, the newly envisaged housing measures are needed immediately to create jobs.

But this does not invalidate the council's objection because the mis-channelling of so much capital and the use of tax money cannot be excused as an on the spot measure.

The council's trick of creating long-term credibility through a three-year austerity programme while at the same time satisfying the followers of the "shot in the arm" theory has led to an unusual phenomenon: The Trade Union Federation (DGB) has reacted unusually moderately, even going so far as to speak of a "first rapprochement" between the council and the trade unions.

It must be remembered that both DGB and parts of the SPD have criticised the council to the point of defamatory polemics in the past.

Never before has the council's report had such a pacifying effect. Chancellor Kohl is likely to make use of this opportunity to preserve the social peace, which is the most important "production factor."

For the rest, the council leaves no doubt that the new government will find it very hard to set and implement long-term priorities.

There is, for instance, no way in which the government can avoid making it clear to the public that the fight against unemployment must have priority over social benefits because "only a prospering economy makes social security possible."

Another unpleasant task will be to convince the public that investment promotion "cannot be socially just."

Investment promotion inevitably means giving money to the high income brackets — though only in the first round.

The social justification here lies in the fact that everybody will benefit in the second round.

The report stresses that there is no historic example of affluence in times when industrial earnings were low. "Successful economic policy makers have never even tried to manage without resorting to this maxim."

This is clearly "one of the weak points" of social market economy. One way of defusing this would be a successful policy of capital and profit participation by labour.

This was meant as a hint to the new coalition to tackle an issue on which the old government was at loggerheads. It is also an opportunity for Kohl and Genscher.

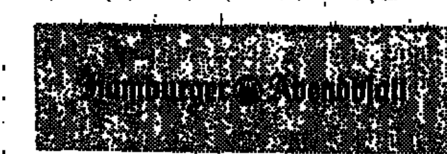
The latest report is uncertain on the economic outlook. It vacillates between "bleak" and "very bleak."

The fact that the report states that "the starting position for 1984 will certainly be improved" shows that the Five Wise Men are untroubled by the forthcoming election.

Peter Gillies

(Die Welt, 13 October 1982)

Economist puts forward his own recipe for recovery



An economist has sharply criticised both the economic policies of the former government and the plans of the new one.

Professor Armin Gutowski, of Hamburg, says the Kohl government's plans indicate a lack of preparation: "They are a mixture of the meaningful, the pointless and the harmful," he told the Hamburg Overseas Club.

The plan to levy an interest-free compulsory loan on incomes above a certain level was "a monstrosity".

"The fact that those who invest five times the amount of the compulsory loan in their own business should be exempted from it turns this meaningless provision into a bureaucratic monstrosity."

Professor Gutowski, an advocate of pure social market economy, calls for more freedom for the citizen and less state tutelage.

"Through our social legislation, usually introduced by all parties, the state has looked after the citizen and told him what to do to a point where he is no longer the free adult citizen he is supposed to be in a democratic state."

He recommends that the government start by paring down costs. This includes both wages and the cost of the expensive social security system.

He feels that this area — social security — will remain untouched as long as any change in the social security system is pilloried as "social dismantlement."

"I assume that the workers would not have accepted the perpetuation of their entitlement to a wide range of social benefits had they known how much this would cost them."

Professor Gutowski says seven steps should be taken.

● There must again be a social policy that provides the greatest benefits to the weakest social groups. Low income groups should be given additional pay by the government. If this were done, many social benefits such as rent subsidies would no longer be needed.

● No more gifts should come from the state if there are other ways of

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No substantia[l] improvement i[n] sight — repor[t]

There is no substantial economi[c im]provement in sight, says the go[vern]ment's economic advisory co[uncil] ("The Five Wise Men"). It has prod[uced] a special economic report com[mis]sioned by the Schmidt-Genscher [go]vernment.

The council essentially welcome[s the] new government programme, th[ough] with reservations.

The forecast in detail: *Growth:* [The] gross national product, adjusted f[or in]flation, will grow by one per cent. C[on]trary to expectations, this year will [see a] one per cent decline in the GNP. [The] economic affairs minister had origi[nally] assumed a three per cent growth.

Unemployment: The average an[nual] unemployment figure in 1983 will [be] 2.25 million, 400 000 more than in [this year]. The winter months could see 2.5 mi[llion] people out of work. Prospects for [the] labour market as a whole [are] "very unfavourable."

Consumer Prices: Consumer p[rices] will rise by "not much less than four [per] cent" in 1983 (now five per cent). T[his] figure is based on the assumption [that] the envisaged increase of VAT as o[f] July 1983 will largely be passed on [to] the consumer.

Investment in equipment: An in[vest]ment growth of three per cent in [this] sector is possible. But this would m[ean] that investment in equipment w[ould] still be lower than in 1981. Constru[ction] investment is expected to rise by 5.5 [per] cent (after a six per cent drop this y[ear]).

Private consumption: This wil[l de]cline still further in 1983. But the a[nantici]pated one per cent drop will be s[maller] than this year. The Five Wise Men a[ssu]me that the rate of saving will decli[ne].

Foreign trade: Exports will be up [...] per cent (after a seven per cent grow[th]); imports will be up five per cent (3.5 [per] cent). The balance of payments [will] continue to improve. The Five [Wise] Men: "We expect a surplus of DM[...] next year." (This year's current acc[ount] will be almost balanced.)

Due to the risks to the world eco[no]my that threaten our own economy, [the] council has come up with an [...] worse alternative forecast, especially [for] the labour market: "Since employ[ment] will not decline from quarter to qu[arter] but is likely to continue at an al[most] unchanged rate if worst comes to w[orst] the number of jobless will rise inex[ora]bly and at an even steeper rate than [this] year."

If these negative conditions mate[rial]ise, the average annual unemploy[ment] figure will be 2.5 million in 1983, [reach]ing three million in winter of next y[ear is] a distinct possibility.

They criticise the envisaged incr[ease] of VAT and the compulsory loan to [the] government for those with taxable [in]comes in excess of DM50 000 (sing[les]) and DM 100 000 (couples).

They favour a repayable contribu[tion] towards job creation that should be [ear]marked for "industrial investme[nt to] promote and safeguard jobs."

Together with pared down subsi[dies] and revenues from the sale of state [as]sets, it should be possible to pro[vide] DM10bn a year for the promotion of [in]vestments over the next few years.

Reimar Fitzl[...]

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 12 October [1982])

[B]USINESS

[R]umour confirmed: Kuwait buys up slab of Hoechst

[Kuwai]t has paid between DM1.4bn and [...]bn for almost 25 per cent of the [stock] of the chemical company Hoechst. [T]he announcement confirms persistent [r]umours that had been circulating. [The] company's nominal capital is [...]35bn.

[Ger]man reaction to the Kuwait purchase of a quarter of Hoechst AG [for D]M4.1bn is mixed. The deal could [allow] a chemical company, whose most [impor]tant raw material is oil, to have an [oil-pro]ducing nation as a major stock[holder].

[Kuw]ait's Oil Minister, Ali Khalifa [al-Sa]bah, a brother of the ruling emir, [as]sured Hoechst chairman Profes[sor Ro]lf Sammet that the purchase of [the b]lock of shares, arranged by Com[merzb]ank, was aimed at establishing an [indust]rial partnership. He was not yet [in a po]sition to provide details.

[To] understand this transaction, it is [neces]sary to realise that the oil-produc[ing] countries have been developing [petro]chemical industries over the past [few y]ears in a bid to earn money not [only] from oil as a commodity but also [from] the processing of it.

[But] they haven't the industrial know-[how t]o keep pace with the West's major [chem]ical companis.

[The]se countries have had to supply [their] own chemical industries with [...] oil at prices below market levels [to com]pete internationally.

[Hoe]chst therefore stands a chance of [profit]ing from its new partner by buy[ing oil] at below market prices.

["Bu]t a partnership must benefit both [sides] if it is to last," says Professor Sam[met].

[It w]ill be interesting to see whether [the ne]w partners will come up with a [via]ble solution.

The experience of Metallgesellschaft (MG), Frankfurt, with Kuwait as a major stockholder has not been encouraging so far.

The Lurgi Group, which looks after the major plant and equipment business of MG, has drawn no advantages from the 20 per cent Arab participation.

Daimler-Benz could have sold just as many vehicles without Kuwait's 14 per cent equity.

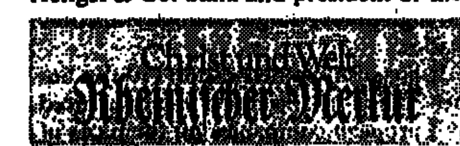
Iran and Kuwait are the oil-producing countries most deeply involved in German industry.

Iran bought its equities in Krupp and Deutsche Babcock shortly after the first oil crisis in 1973.

It has also been known since last autumn that a still unknown oil-producing country holds 15 per cent of the chemical giant BASF.

The BASF and Hoechst equities were bought after the second oil crisis in 1979/80, during a recession. The banks therefore assume that these purchases must be seen as trend setters.

Count Ferdinand von Galen, co-owner of the Schröder, Münchmeyer, Hengst & Co. bank and president of the



Frankfurt Stock Exchange, sees these purchases as "proof of the foreign investors' faith in Germany's regenerative capabilities."

Bankers expect a series of major foreign equity purchases; but they are not worried about a sell-out of German industry.

Ulrich Klaucke, director of Deutsche Bank and chairman of the Hesse Banking Association: "Hoechst is a multinational corporation that earns more than half of its money on foreign markets, so we can hardly object to some of its capital being held by foreigners. We must also bear in mind that there is little inclination in Germany to provide our industry with adequate risk capital."

But when it comes to its own affairs, Deutche Bank lives by different rules: alhtough international business accounts for more than one-third of its activities, Deutsche Bank still regards itself as essentially a national institution.

While Dresdner Bank and Commerzbank (the house bank of Hoechst) are consistent in upholding the flag of free capital movement even where they themselves are concerned, Deutsche Bank restricted voting rights as early as the first oil crisis. Since the mid-1970s, no shareholder of Germany's largest bank may vote for more than five per cent of the bank's stock.

As much as Ulrich Klaucke welcomes foreign risk capital, he nevertheless feels uneasy when "exotic stockholders want to play entrepreneur."

Stock exchange president von Galen recommends that all companies of national importance be kept free of foreign influence — and this includes not only the major banks but also arms producers, utilities and Lufthansa, the national airline.

In his view, the compulsory registration of foreign holdings should begin at ten per cent of the stock rather than the present 25 per cent.

Only 18 per cent of the stock listed on German exchanges was held by foreigners at the end of 1981 — mostly British insurance companies.

Saudi Arabia's monetary authority, Sama, holds not a single German share. Only one privately owned Saudi Arabian company holds an equity in a German corporation: the Dallah Establishment Group holds 70.9 per cent of the Mainz-based IBH Holding AG, number three on the world market for construction machinery.

Even so, it is a foregone conclusion that Saudi Arabia and other surplus countries will step up their investments in Germany.

Von Galen figures that some 16 per cent of world reserves are held in deutschemarks and that this acts as a "gentle persuasion" to invest in this country.

Opec countries have already bought up everything that was attractive and available in the USA and Britain.

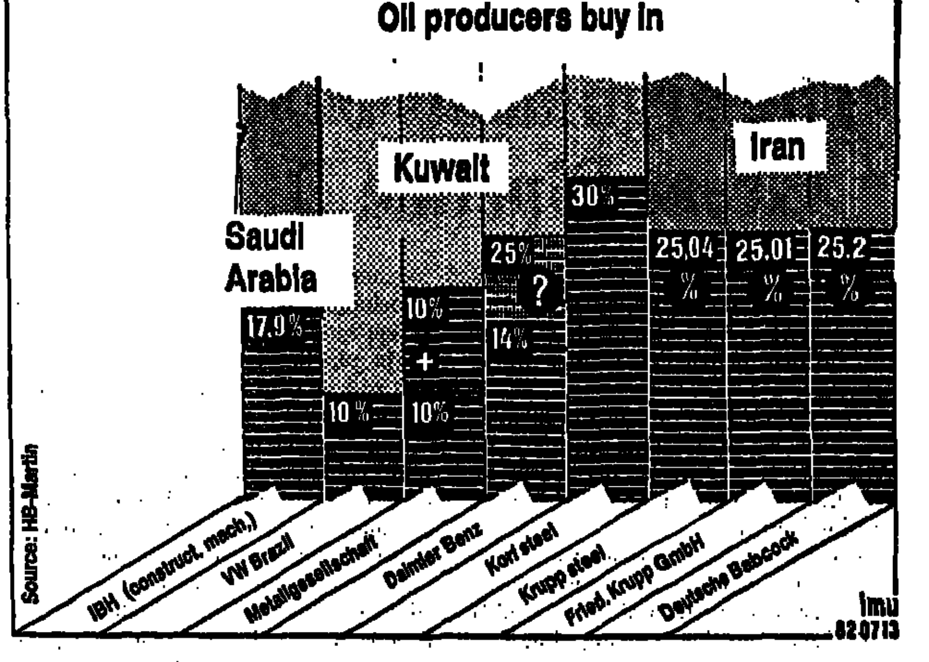
Switzerland keeps foreigners on a short leash and the French have nationalised their most important industries, leaving Germany as the last investment oasis for the sheikhs.

So it would be wise to raise the price for German industrial equities.

The purchase of almost a quarter of Hoechst for the ridiculously low amount of DM1.4bn should remain a one-time mistake. The know-how of German industry is worth more than a pittance.

Burkhart Salchow

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 8 October 1982)



State with eye for investment

Kuwait has had a large shareholding in major German companies for some time.

The sheikhdom has a 14 per cent equity in Daimler-Benz AG, 25 per cent in the Korf steelmill and 20 per cent in the Korf metals subsidiary. It has bought 10 per cent of the VW of Brazil stock.

There are persistent rumours that the Kuwaitis have also cornered six per cent of the German Volkswagen stock. There is no confirmation so far, however, that they hold an equity in Commerzbank.

Kuwait's investments in Britain are estimated at one billion pounds sterling.

Its largest investment is probably accounted for by the purchase of the Santa Fe International Corporation in Alhambra, California, for which it is said to have paid $2.5bn. Santa Fe specialises in equipment for the oil industry.

According to Citibank, Kuwait holds more than one per cent of the chemical giant Dow Chemicals and the computer and office equipment manufacturer Burroughs.

It also has equities in the supermarket chains Mart and Penny and McDonald's, hamburger chain.

A bid for about 15 per cent of Getty Oil (number 23 in the list of America's largest companies) failed.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 1 October 1982)

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[achiev]ing an objective. For instance: In[stead] of the present non-repayable sub[sidies] for students they could be given [loans].

[● I]f next-of-kin were no longer in[sured] free of charge by a working per[son's] health insurance but had to pay [their own] premiums there would be nothing [to prev]ent them from opting for private [insurance].

[● Th]e insured person should pay [somet]hing towards the cost of his ill[ness]. This would reduce costs more ef[ficient]ly than any government regula[tion].

[● Pr]ices for public transport, thea[tres, sw]imming baths and similar state [instituti]ons should gradually be brought [in line] with operating costs to find out [how mu]ch they are worth to the users.

[● Ren]ts should gradually be adapted [to mar]ket prices. This would stimulate [housing] construction and make a whole [ministr]y and its departments redun[dant].

[● A]ll state spending should be tho[roughly] reviewed — and this includes [what is n]ow earmarked as "public sector [investm]ents." Many state investments [are not] genuine investment at all but [consum]er spending.

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 8 October 1982)

Continued from page 5

cost of short shift work is considerable:

According to Federal Labour Office statistics, short shift work cost DM471m in 1980, rising to DM1.28bn in 1981. The anticipated cost for this year is DM1.9bn. This is 5.8, 9.7 and 10.1 per cent respectively of the cost of full unemployment benefits.

There has been repeated criticism to the effect that this money could have been put to better use because short shift work might not have been necessary in each case. But the economic slump, with the attendant unemployment, has silenced those who felt that many an application for short shift work and benefits was not as absolutely necessary as the law demanded.

Even so, it might be useful to have a survey that would whether the legal provision that short shift work must be offset against overtime is actually being applied. The same applies to residue vacation time.

The criticism by trade unions who were unable to obtain agreements on employer subsidies for the pay of short shift workers must be taken seriously. They say that these subsidies should be treated like extra income and offset against short shift benefits.

All this makes a review of the entire short shift system desirable — especially in times of budgetary problems.

A symposium held by the German Institute for Economic Research in Berlin was told that short shift work was the cheapest way of fighting unemployment and that this should be looked into.

Both organised labour and management welcomed this suggestion because it means that trained workers can be retained and that they will be available once the economic situation improves.

Reinhard Biehl

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 9 October 1982)

■ TRADE

The arguments behind the Great Pipeline Dispute

Jobs at AEG-Kanis in Essen, threatened by closure already, are further jeopardised by the American embargo on turbine shipments to the Soviet Union.

The turbines are part of the Siberian gas pipeline to Western Europe, and AEG-Kanis is, or was, dependent on US licenses and on General Electric turbine blades.

The US embargo has now hit Mannesmann and its subsidiaries Hochdruck-Rohrleitungsbau GmbH and Kocks Pipeline Planung GmbH in Essen.

Yet Mannesmann, although undeniably associated with the gas pipeline contract, does not export products based on US components, US licences or even US know-how.

A few weeks ago, when martial law in Poland looked like being eased, there were hopes of the US embargo policy being relaxed too.

But they were dashed by the final abolition of Solidarity, Poland's free trade union, by the Polish Parliament. So the "family affair" between America and Europe looks like getting worse.

The exact effect of US sanctions on German companies cannot yet be foreseen because no-one knows for sure whether the same yardstick is to be applied as on British, French and Italian companies.

In their case America has banned the supply of components and the sale of new licences to manufacture equipment and use techniques in petroleum and natural gas engineering.

If President Reagan had his way, construction of the pipeline from Urengoy in the west Siberian tundra to Western Europe would grind to a halt as soon as possible.

He sees the pipeline as enhancing the Soviet armament potential. It will certainly span thousands of miles, has been hailed as the civil engineering project of the century by the Russians and is being built with Western (including US) technology.

The pipeline is being built on credit and will be paid for by gas shipments, Washington argues.

This transfer of resources will, it is said, enable the Russians to keep up the pace of their arms build-up because pipeline construction will not, initially, affect the Soviet national product.

This argument seems to have replaced the previous US line, which was that Europe in general, and Germany in particular, was banking too heavily on supplies of Soviet gas.

Bonn's counter-argument is that in the early 1990s, when gas shipments peak, Soviet gas will not amount to more than 30 per cent of German gas consumption and about five or six per cent of overall power requirements.

So if the Russians ever did think in terms of turning off the tap, as critics fear, the shortfall could be offset from other sources or, within a short period, by using other forms of energy, such as coal and oil.

For a transitional period strategic reserves in public and private stockpiles could be used. They have been built up steadily and make Germany much less susceptible to blackmail than it was in 1973 during the first oil embargo.

Experts on trade with the Eastern bloc have increasingly come to argue that trade with Russia will depend on Soviet gas exports.

It may not yet be threatened by a chronic Soviet shortage of foreign exchange but it would be, the argument goes, if Moscow were unable to offset lower oil revenues by exporting more gas.

Since you can't afford to throw stones if you live in a glasshouse, Mr Reagan's apologists have set about making America's position slightly less assailable.

President Carter imposed an embargo on shipments of US grain to Russia after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. President Reagan lifted it.

Grain shipments to Russia, it is argued, have to be paid for in cash. So this cash can no longer be invested in imports that might have any bearing on armaments.

If the transatlantic "family affair" were merely a matter of differences of opinion without practical consequences, Europe and America could get back down to normal business without further ado.

But the Reagan administration has lashed out at America's major allies in Europe by going further than a mere ban on supplies to Europe of parts such as high-grade, large diameter turbine blades.

It has also banned exports to the Soviet Union of products manufactured by European companies on the basis of licence agreements with US firms.

If European companies were to comply with this ban they would as a rule be in breach of contract with the Soviet Union, with all the legal consequences that entailed.

Mr Reagan's move is a new one for international lawyers, but most legal experts agree that the US President has exceeded his authority by far in trying to dictate to foreign states and companies.

European governments have rightly reacted sensitively. Some, as in Britain, have expressly forbidden domestic companies to comply with US government regulations.

The French and Italian governments have taken a similar view. Bonn showed the greatest restraint, but faced more immediate problems culminating [in the] change of government.

Chancellor Schmidt said there co[uld] be no question of a German com[pany] obeying US government orders.

Chancellor Kohl added, more di[plo]matically, that views might diffe[r on] whether Western companies ough[t to] build the Siberian gas pipeline.

But German companies must de[finitely] abide by the terms of their contracts.

Unfortunately European compa[nies] having been given government sup[port] to ignore the US embargo is not the [end] of the matter.

Sanctions imposed on them, as [an]nounced by the US Department [of] Commerce, could lead to serious [set]backs in their American business.

The main argument against A[meri]ca's embargo policy is that it s[eems] largely doomed to failure, as was [the] 1963 pipeline embargo.

Western Europe may have reaso[n to] hope its "family affair" with Ame[rica] will soon be over now the Cocom [b]list is being revised.

It is the list of strategic goods Nato countries and Japan are supp[osed] not to export to Warsaw Pact states.

If America's allies were to mee[t the] US government half-way in these [...] it ought to be possible to end the [dis]pute without either side looking [...] the worse for wear.

Werner Kleinsch[...]

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und [Welt], 15 October [1982])



The first load of a total of 47 turbines from AEG-Kanis goes on board in Brem[en ...] route for Russia and the controversial gas pipeline. (Photo: [...])

Warning on East Bloc dumping

The foreign trade committee of the European Parliament has presented a 60-page report warning of the East Bloc's dumping practices, its barter deals and its growing debt.

The committee calls on the EEC Commission to exercise stricter controls over barter deals. It points to the fact that the East Bloc countries' current account deficits and empty foreign exchange coffers have forced them to curb imports and engage in pure barter deals.

Goods offered are of inferior quality and abundantly available in the West anyway. Such deals, the committee says, threaten the European markets and prevent the creation of new jobs.

Exporters should therefore reject barter deals "if they run against to the interests of consumers and manufacturers."

The committee stresses, however, that the East-West trade is important despite its drawbacks. For some branches of EEC industry, the East Bloc countries rank among the most important customers.

dpa

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 1 October 1982)

Steelmakers a step closer to agreement

The signs are that EEC steel producers have come a major step closer to avoiding punitive US levies on steel imports from Europe.

According to the EEC Commission in Brussels, the steelmakers meeting at the International Iron and Steel Institute (IISI) in Tokyo have agreed on their respective quotas for steel exports to the USA.

Consensus is also said to have been reached on the changes in the self-restriction agreement that will persuade the American steel industry to withdraw its complaints before the International Trade Commission rules on the imposition of countervailing duties.

The final decision is to be made on 15 October, and if the Trade Commission rules againt the EEC steelmakers the levies would be imposed this month.

The EEC Commission has helped peacefully settling the dispute by offering the US Department of Commerce a better deal through the inclusion of alloy steel. The move came shortly before the scheduled decision by the Trade Commission.

The EEC steel industry could point to its determination to reach an agreement, the EEC Commission and the man responsible for steel, Etienne Davignon, could prove that the Community was capable of acting as a crisis manager and the US steel industry, along with the Reagan Administration, could take credit for having succeeded in making the Europeans give in for the good of the United States.

What the Western world's steel industry needs least of all at this point is a relapse into the mire of protectionism that must eventually lead to a trade war — and not only in the steel sector.

In view of shrinking world trade, deep recession in many Western co[un]tries, growing unemployment and [...] near bankruptcy of many social [sys]tems, it would not be surprising if th[ose] who call for closed borders gained [the] upper hand.

What this would lead to in a wo[rld] economy governed by interdepende[nce] is beyond imagining.

The industrial countries have no [al]ternative but to keep their markets o[pen] at any cost if they are to keep their [so]cial structures reasonably intact.

The days are long gone when [the] steel industry only had to pluck [the] fruit as it ripened.

The Tokyo talks have made it [clear] that the Western world's steel ind[ustry] is no longer a growth business — a[nd] won't be for the rest of the decade.

As a result, Europe must concen[trate] on its profitable plants and cut back [on] government subsidies of steel is to [sur]vive. It is close to high noon.

Rolf H. Fri[...]

(Handelsblatt, 13 October [1982])

TRANSPORT

Speed and stubbornness blamed for road deaths

DEUTSCHES ALLGEMEINES SONNTAGSBLATT

[A] government-appointed work group [w]ant a speed limit of 30 kilometres [an hou]r to be set for residential areas in [Germ]any.

[It] is also considering recommending [a limi]t of 130 kilometres an hour on the [Auto]bahn.

[At] present 50kph is the limit in residen[tia]l areas and there is no limit on [the o]pen road.

[The A]DAC, Germany's largest automo[bile] association, has little sympathy [with] the recommendations.

[Th]e group, formed a year by Volker [Hau]ff, Transport Minister in the former [SPD]/FDP government, said that most [seriou]s accidents in Germany are cau[sed] by speed and stubborn in[sisten]ce on traffic rights.

[Mo]re children die in traffic accidents [in G]ermany than in comparable Euro[pean n]ations, statistics show.

[Ev]ery day, 32 die on German roads [...] the total number of deaths [thro]ugh any sort of accident in the [coun]try) and 1,300 are injured. The [...] group says these figures are just [...] ignored.

[The] 30kph recommendation is because most serious accidents are in residential areas.

The group also recommends a provisional driving licence, compulsory safety belts for back seats, spending an estimated DM3bn on reducing accident risks at black spots, and stepping up television information.

Germany is the only country in the world without an open-road speed limit, and there is no serious demand that one be set.

The group describes some typical German road situations:

● A driver stops in front of a traffic light because the road on the other side of the junction is full and he would otherwise block the crossing.

The man behind gets into a panic, flashes his headlights furiously, waves his arms about and tries to squeeze past, endangering oncoming traffic and stopping only after he notices that the traffic light has in the meantime turned red.

● A driver on the motorway overtakes at 140 km/h a line of traffic on his right.

He cannot drive any faster, because the cars in front of him aren't going any faster. Suddenly, a car races up behind, flashing its lights and blowing its horn, takes advantage of a gap to overtake on the right, and triumphantly races back into a gap on the left.

● A driver keeps to the speed limit on an arterial road. Another one doesn't care about the limit and passes the first driver at 80 kph, confusing oncoming traffic and narrowly missing a child who was quite correctly using a zebra crossing.

It is hardly surprising that the report does not contain many new proposals.

Even a speed limit of 30 kph in built-up areas cannot tackle the root of traffic problems: social behaviour.

Nothing will basically change as long as apparently reasonable people turn into rowdies as soon as they get into their cars.

Their tin boxes serve as an object of prestige, confirming their personality, of compensation and sometimes of aggression.

For most drivers the expression defensive driving, an expression originating from the sixties, is an unknown concept.

The fact that the ADAC, Germany's largest automobile association, shows little understanding for the new proposals is again hardly surprising.

The self-appointed protectors of the right to drive in freedom as a free citizen immediately welcomed everything that wasn't painful, rejecting anything which might upset the heroes of the steering wheel.

Rudolf Grosskopff

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 10 October 1982)



Travelling high

Wuppertal's suspension railway has been carrying passengers to and from 17 stations along its 8.3-mile route since 1901. The system was inaugurated the year before by the Kaiser. His train is still available for hire, the but the other original rolling stock was replaced during the 1970s. (Photo: Stadtwerke Wuppertal)

Cities look to taxis as cheap substitute for off-peak buses

Many city transport authorities in Germany would use taxis instead of buses at off-peak hours if they could.

Experiments have shown that transport budget deficits could be cut by eliminating late-night empty buses and contracting a taxi operator.

The main problem lies with the transport workers' union, ÖTV, which for years been fighting against any public transport being put into private hands.

Using a taxi service would be a move in that direction. It would automatically lead to a drop in union membership, which the union wants to prevent.

Another problem is the works councils of public transport companies. They say that the use of taxis would lead to a loss of jobs. But that is not a real problem if taxis are introduced gradually to take advantage of natural staff wastage.

Christ und Welt
Rheinischer Merkur

Last year, it cost DM2bn more to run Germany's public transport than the revenue it generated. Taxpayers foot the bill.

Munich, for example, loses more than DM1m a day. And it is already making limited use of taxis — on four routes in the evening when it is not so busy.

One line has been running taxis for six years, a sign that everybody is happy, the customer, the transport authority and the taxi firm.

Taxi firms usually charge about DM30 an hour. In Munich it is about DM25. Much cheaper than an empty bus.

An investigation in 1974 commissioned by the Ministry of Transport indicated that it was both economical and possible in other ways to use taxis for public transport.

At that time, taxis were being chartered for public service in off-peak hours in Berlin, Düsseldorf, Karlsruhe and Pforzheim.

The reports were good. Pforzheim said the service was reliable and economical. Stuttgart said there had been no complaints. The service was smooth-running and satisfactory.

All that happens when a taxi takes over a bus run is that the driver swaps his cab sign for the bus route sign. He issues and checks tickets. If there is a queue at a stop he can radio for another cab.

Now the German Federal Association for Public Passenger Transport has decided at a congress in Berlin to step up negotiations with the public transport companies on the use of taxis.

Many towns would accept the offer if they could overcome works council and union opposition. *Paul Bellinghausen*

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 8 October 1982)

ARCHAEOLOGY

Race against time to uncover the remains of a Roman settlement

On the wheat fields of Sontheim an der Brenz, a small town in the district of Heidenheim, in Baden-Württemberg, young people kneel and squat in dug-out ditches. They sprinkle the ground from watering-cans, remove the earth using shovels and pickaxes, or even sit on folding chairs engrossed in the study of small pieces of paper.

The apparent peace and concentration is misleading. On the edge of the fields huge mechanical excavators and bulldozers lie in impatient wait to dig out the cellars for a new residential area.

In their race against time, the archaeologists are carrying out research on the remains of a ten-acre Roman settlement buried beneath the humus.

The Sontheimers have dug themselves into a deep dilemma. The local community would like to extend the area for building new houses but unfortunately large parts of the Danube valley, where Sontheim is, have been declared a protected area.

The only are left for building purposes is west of the town, and this is precisely where the cultural and historical treasures from Roman times are to be found.

❛Historical monuments enable us to see the wrinkles of our own culture❜

As Hans Ulrich Nuber from the University of Freiburg, on-the-spot head of excavation activities, explains, the site consists of a Roman road station, which was surrounded by a solid wall. Two Roman arterial roads merged at this point.

The excavation has uncovered two gate entrances and cobbled interior paths, which could be used by heavy vehicles. According to the archaeological expert these ruins are of a type which has never before been known in Germany.

Its discovery holds promise of substantial scientific insights into the history of that area and the organisation of the Roman road network. Up to now five-thousand square metres have been dug out, all of which the Sontheimers would dearly like to build upon.

In view of this conflict situation the Baden-Württemberg Conservation Department has abstained from expropriating this area on the understanding that emergency and research excavation be carried out before building work begins.

The Sontheim case is symptomatic of the increasing threat to archaeological field work and research. The possible monuments beneath the soil are threatened by the increasing use of technical implements in all areas of building, agricultural, foresting and water supply activities.

The opening-up of new areas, road construction, urban redevelopment, the draining of damp areas, the extraction of brown coal and the quarrying of sand and gravel, all go towards destroying old cultural assets.

Without being aware of it, farmers are destroying veritable documents of



history while ploughing. The various state conservation departments can no longer satisfactorily do the job they are there to do: protect and conserve cultural monuments. Since the end of World War II many old cities have been rebuilt, satellite towns have sprouted out of the ground and new roads built where fertile land and woods could once be found.

In addition, the post-war economic recovery required an ever-increasing extent of industrial land. The subsequent movements of earth uncovered many an archaeological find, however, destroying many more in the process.

Archaeologists talk of an archaeological wasteland, and terms such as emergency or rescue excavations have long since become part and parcel of the expert's terminology.

The vast amount of archaeological material dug up over the past 35 years has forced the authorities to carry out short-term rescue excavations so as to at least enable the finds to be photographed or sketched for scientific purposes.

There's just not enough time for thorough evaluations. Exacavations geared towards scientific objectives are gradually being pushed into the background.

The Roman find in Heidesheim was also due to become victim to a modern-day fate. The post office had planned to start building a new telephone exchange and multi-storey car park in 1980, selecting as its site an area under which an ancient Roman central heating system had been discovered in 1911 and sections of a wall in 1929.

With the approval of the post office, investigations were carried out which indicated a cultural monument in good condition. The local branch of the conservation department then pushed through a preliminary stop to building work (with the permission of the state government in Stuttgart), even though the permission to build had already been granted.

Today, two years later, there is the concrete skeleton of the telephone exchange standing on the site. What happened to the excavation work carried out on one of the largest set of Roman bathing facilities in South-West Germany?

The Baden-Württemberg conservation department regarded the status of of a particularly significant monument as laid down in Section 12 of the Law for the Protection of Historical Monuments as given.

This was associated with a demand for maintaining and conserving the facilities, a fact which did not please the head post office in Stuttgart. It was interested in pushing through the building project as speedily as possible.

After long negotiations the post office was persuaded to re-plan its project and forced to build the new building on supports above the Roman site.

The ancient baths are to be opened to the general public of Heidenheim in the form of a museum. As regards the additional costs amounting to DM1.4bn, the town of Heidenheim, the state of Baden-Württemberg and a sponsorship organisation formed in 1980 will pay DM560,000 and the post office will pay the rest.

The compromise solution reached in this case, however, still remains the exception.

The rule is building planners who have no feeling towards history, and who destroy the uncovered remains of a Roman fort to build a new bridge, or who would have no scruples about putting a factory on top of a Roman temple.

Archaeologists only get in the way, causing delays and additional costs. However, there are of course cases of exaggeration to the other extreme. Not all finds are suited to be designated as a monument or to serve as the basis of an open-air museum.

Most land researchers would like to have enough time to take a detailed and closer look at these documents of our early history.

One farmer in the small village of Faimingen in Bavaria, for example, came across a Roman shrine on his property between the pig-sty and the hay-stack.

There were two Ionic pillars in good condition and the basic wall of a temple, claimed to have been sanctified in honour of the Gallo-Roman god Apollo Grannus. This site has now become a proper tourist attraction.

During growing building activities Faimingen became a real headache for the monument protectionists in Bavaria. Up until 1950 the village only covered a quarter of the area of the Roman site.

Due to rapid extension of building, rescue excavations were essential. The uncovered walls of the Apollo Grannus temple, for example, have been conserved and restored. Furthermore, the Department for Monument Conservation was able to buy the piece of land in 1979. The town of Lauingen was committed to maintaining the temple.

Here is a prime example of cooperation between the department, the district and the town in the interest of maintaining culture.

❛Problems: planners who would destroy a fort to build a bridge❜

More than ever before, the public conservationists depend on the understanding and financial support of the municipal elders, on private donations and foundation funds.

The lack of personnel and money for maintaining the archaeological sites is another big problem. Land research is only of marginal importance, since the authorities prefer the visible evidence of the past above the ground.

Whereas the conservation of land and monuments in Bavaria, Baden-Württemberg and North-Rhine Westphalia has quite good personnel and financial backing, the situation in Rhineland-Palatinate, Hesse and Lower Saxony is catastrophic.

In comparison with the city of Cologne, which has put aside DM1.2 DM1.8 million to save archaeolog monuments, Rhineland-Palatin shows only DM85,000 to DM120,000

In Bavaria the figure for such acti ties has risen from DM400,000 in 19 to DM2.5 million in 1980. Further s are provided by the local authori the districts and private firms. The deral Labour Office has up to now c tributed an annual DM5 milli Baden-Württemberg boosted its b ing by one hundred per cent, fr DM1.9m (1976) to DM3.7m (1981). improvement is unlikely due to a l of cash, says Hans Maier, president the German National Committee the Protection of Historic Monuments

Excavations in moorland and damp areas, as in the Lake Feder s in Baden-Württemberg for examp pursue the intention of systematic covering the moorland settlements fore they dry up due to the sinking the ground-water level.

The settlement facilities form the e ly Stone Age and the late Bronze A have been preserved over the centur due to water preventing contact w the oxygen in the air. The building yachting harbours, and the draining bank areas, endanger these sites.

❛Puzzle: why did the Stone Age people build in unhealthy moor areas?❜

The Swabian Railway, which o used peat as a fuel, had its part to p in robbing the ground of its natural p tective surface.

Damp ground researchers, as op sed to ground archaeologists, carry specimen drilling and small-area ex vations. Only the most important fi are salvaged for archaeological and c tural scientific investigations.

In their wellington boots and r coats the experts are gradually gett closer to an early Age damp grou settlement made of wood in Schone ried, north of Reute-Waldsee.

In some places they are up their n in water, uncovering the settlem piece by piece. Cows graze to the ri and to the left, and it has been drizzli for ages. There's certainly no open- romanticism here.

This was a peninsula in earlier tim says the French head of the excavatio soaked to the skin. On the sloping b of the island two piles of rubbish w found with numerous pieces of cera and vessels, which will enable the sett ment to be approximately dated.

In 1981 a moorland site was fou and uncovered at ground level m parts of which were still in good co tion. Some parts of the house had pr ably been destroyed by peat digging ploughing. The finds here are in such bad state that any plans for salvaging conservation have had to be dropped.

The French head of excavation pects the organic components to h dried up and disappeared in a f years. The moor excavations in Bad Württemberg were for many years more neglected than ground archaeo gy.

Serious efforts and interest have been apparent since 1980. Supported the Scientific Research Association hundred bank and moor settleme have been uncovered up to now in context of the project „Lake Cons ce/Upper Swabia".

The evaluation of the excava

Continued on page 14

PEOPLE

Nuclear plea from winner of booksellers' prize

s year's DM25,000 peace prize of the man Booksellers' Association has s awarded to the American diplomat, orian and writer, George F. Kennan, Kennan took the opportunity to issue impressive plea for the abolition of lear destructive potential. He urged ntries in both East and West to remo- mistrust.

Historian and politician George F. Kennan was the man who put ward the risk formula: e plus o als t.

Or, to put it more plainly: exaggera- n plus oversimplification gives you uble (with Moscow).

The one-time American ambassador Moscow asks whether the Soviets lly are still intent on world revolu- n, and the reply is given in an essay wrote last year: yes and no.

The Kremlin knows exactly how to ferentiate between that which it re- rds as desirable and the problems it ually has to face in today's world.

Are the Soviets after military supre- acy in an effort to threaten us all?

Yes, says Kennan. In the final analy- s this is what they are after. However, ur fears in this respect are exaggera- ed. The West has become accustomed o thinking in terms of the worst that ould happen.

It does not examine whether the al- leged military supremacy of the Soviet Union is rooted in its aggression or in e carelessness of Western defence ef- forts.

Kennan rhetorically continues: "We ar that Soviet expansionism is in- duced to adventures in the Third World. Is this incorrect?"

According to the opinion of probably e most experienced expert on Soviet affairs in the Western world, this is in no way incorrect.

And yet Kennan, today emeritus pro- fessor at Princeton University's Intitute for Advanced Studies, has worked out that all in all the Kremlin has had to ac- cept more defeats than successes in the Third World.

"To have lost its influence in countries such as China, Yugoslavia, Egypt and Indonesia is certainly no sign of a parti- cularly successful form of expansio- nism."

In 1946 the then embassy secretary George F. Kennan sent a long telegram to Washington from Moscow recom- mending the development of a policy of containment towards the Soviet in- fluence.

So it was Kennan who developed the "containment policy", and not the "hawk", John Foster Dulles. Kennan certainly cannot be "suspected" of paci- fism or unilateralism.

However, whenever he gets the chance to talk into a microphone he urges his listeners to adopt a more composed attitude towards the Soviet Union.

"I was in Moscow during the Stalinist purges. I was there during the Korean War, a period in which relations between the United States and the Soviet Union hit rock-bottom. I think I can claim to know my way around in these relations better than almost anyone else.

"And yet I till cannot accept why the relationship between the two world powers should be worse than at that time, and why both of them only see each other in military terms. Our assessment of the Soviet Union according to purely military criteria verges on hysteria. This is where the real danger lies".

Kennan has been dealing with the Soviet Union for 55 years. Between 1933 and 1939 and 1945/46 he was embassy secretary in Moscow. In 1952 he became ambassador, but was soon forced to leave his post following Soviet pressure.

Since 1954 he has been teaching in Princeton. In 1950 the advisor to Washington's State Department, Kennan, compiled a 79-page report for his Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, in which the answers to two basic questions were sought.

First of all, should the USA build the H-bomb? Second, should America suggest some form of international control of nuclear weapons to the Soviet Union?

He came out against the bomb and in favour of control. However, ten days later President Truman decided on the hydrogen bomb. No mention was made of any international control.

Ever since this, Kennan's ideas have focussed on nuclear weapons, which determine the relationship between both superpowers.

"The older I become", he said in a newspaper interview last year, "the better I understand that our current problems with the Soviet Union are of a transitory nature and can therefore be overcome.

"In 30 or 40 years time we will see the events in Poland or the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in a different light. Everything changes, but one thing remains: nuclear weaponry.

"Nuclear armament could finally prove to be the ultimate destructive force and bear out the fears mankind has had for decades."

He is certainly no radicalist, although his fears sometimes take him into the realm of intellectual radicalism.

Two years ago, for example, he seriously suggested that both superpower should scrap half of their nuclear arsenals. At the end of the forties he was opposed to the setting-up of Nato, fearing that the arms race would then be instituionalised.

His approach may well be correct, and yet what alternative did Europe have at that time but to seek a security alliance with America? Did it have an option for an operable policy? In his book *The Cloud of Danger*, published in 1977, he urges America to set an example by cutting back its nuclear arsenal by ten per cent in an effort to stop the arms race.

He had high hopes that Jimmy Carter was the President who might lend an open ear to his ideas. For Kennan it is an undeniable fact that today both world powers have a joint nuclear destruction potential equivalent to more than one million Hiroshima bombs.

George F. Kennan . . . no pacifist. (Photo: dpa)

He cites the calculation made by the "Center for Defense Information" in Washington according to which the USA will jack up its nuclear potential by 17,000 nuclear warheads before the decade is out.

One of his reasons for not condoning the line taken by the present President in the White House is Reagan's lack of willingness to talk to Moscow: "The Russians might well stop believing that problems can be solved by discussing them with us. This in turn might lead to the conclusion that the only way to deal with us is in terms of dealing with the threat of military confrontation."

Winfried Münster

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 9 October 1982)

Priest killed by Nazis is now a saint

Germans join Polish exiles for a "pilgrimage of reconciliation" from Bavaria to Rome; 3,000 Poles are allowed to pass the Polish border in special buses and trains; 8,000 more arrive in the Eternal City from other parts of Western Europe and America.

The reason for this was the canonisation of the blessed Father Maximilian Kolbe in St Peter's Square on Sunday, 10 October.

In 1941 he died an agonishing death in an Auschwitz bunker, after he voluntarily saving the life of a Polish prisoner. It cost him his own.

That Polish prisoner, Franz Gajowniczek, is still alive, and is now 81. He was present when, during the course of the ceremony, a gigantic painting of the new Polish saint, completed by Italian painters, was hung on the facade of St Peter's.

And sitting on a seat of honour was the Sardinian dressmaker, Angelina Testoni, now 69. After seven years of an incurable lung disease and intestinal trouble — so it is written in the Vatican decree "On Miracles" issued for Kolbe's canonisation — she was cured after praying to this Polish Father in 1949.

"Father Maximilian died in a period of hatred and brutal ruthlessness. Humans were humiliated and turned into robots; They were worth no more than slaves. The burning memory of the hell of the concentration camps is fading. Today's youth has almost forgotten their horror, and the handbooks of history report facts which are difficult to imagine today. Nevertheless, those who have survived this epoch know only too well the degree to which a totalitarian regime can humiliate and deride a human being."

These words were spoken by Cardi-



Father Maximilian Kolbe . . . a truly Christian act. (Photo: dpa)

nal Karol Wojtyla, now Pope, in 1971 on the occasion of the beatification of his fellow-Pole in Rome.

A closer look at the words may well reveal the key for understanding why this "young" blessed Father has, eleven years later, with special Papal permission and without renewed proof of a miracle, been canonised.

The devout Catholic, now internee, union leader Lech Walesa, the factory worker in Warsaw, all Poles are at present most sensitive to the implications of a "totalitarian regime". The dreadful fate of Father Kolbe, highly honoured in Poland itself, is to offer consolation and support.

The renewed enhancing of this Franciscan's status is to be taken as a shining example of a truly Christian way of facing the hardships of life. The fact that the canonisation was not only encouraged by the Pope but by the Poles themselves was expressed in a sermon in February by the Polish primate Glemp in Rome — long before the October date was announced:

"We hope that our Holy Father will carry out an act this year which will be welcomed not only by the Poles but by the faithful throughout the world; the canonisation of the blessed Maximilian Kolbe."

Thoughts were even given to announcing the canonisation during the Pope's planned visit to Poland. The decision by the government in Warsaw to refuse a visit to Poland by the head of the Church put an end to such plans.

Kolbe, who was murdered by the Nazis in a concentration camp by injection on 16 August 1941 after going through the agony of starvation also has a great significance for the Germans.

On this side of the Oder he is referred to as a "martyr of reconciliation". However, even in ecclesiastical circles there is no agreement on whether the Fransiscan can be called a martyr in the theological sense.

The Polish and German bishops are influential supporters of this thesis. In June, following a joint visit to Auschwitz, delegations of both bishops' conferences sent a letter to the Pope, in which they supported the canonisation

Continued on page 15

■ BOOKS

Quality becomes crucial as the day of the big money-spinner ends

The era of best-sellers and quick money is over — at least for the time being. This was the message at the Frankfurt Book Fair.

It was obvious that publishers are now more concerned with quality than quantity, which marks a change from the booming 1970s.

Then, a large an affluent readership brought about booming sales, especially fiction. This has changed. What remains is the discriminating reader who demands quality: and this has meant the end of the gamblers in publishing.

Publishers who have handled the change are still doing well. They are dealing with a wide range of paperbacks and many have managed to maintain sales growth.

But publishers who once made their money by relying on runaway best sellers have run into trouble. An example is the Austrian Molden Verlag.

Fierce competition is developing to increase market shares in the various categories and open up in new topics.

The Fischer Verlag, for instance, has stepped up its production from 20 to 30 titles a month while Goldmann is trying to gain ground with better quality paperbacks in a fairly large format.

Kiepenheuer & Witsch have started a new series (KIWI) that includes both new titles and special printings of books previously sold only as hardcovers.

Piper Verlag has cancelled its deal with the Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag in order to have full control over its output.

Original film scripts published as paperbacks have proved a major hit in new fields. They include the *Dallas* series; monographs on Orson Welles; *The Magic Mountain* script; a picture volume on Fassbinder's *Querelle;* and Syberberg's *Parsifal.*

The publishers are trying to cut costs, but they are concerned about costs in distribution. In the 1970s they developed a costly system to enable bookshops to get almost any book within 24 hours. It has turned out to be a luxury which is now backfiring.

Huge stocks of books were built up by distributors and the consumer in the end has to pay for both this and the logistics of supplying the shops. The system has been developed and it is not possible to undevelop it. Even doubling supply time for a book would, it is thought, mean only minor savings.

Publishers who did not fall prey to the supermarket mentality of the past few years now have every reason to be optimistic.

If they have managed to rally a solid readership through quality their balance sheets are likely to be healthy.

Tradition still pays off, and this is one of the reasons why Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt (DVA) has decided to buy such venerable publishing houses as Manesse Verlag.

S. Fischer Verlag is now also falling back on its tradition by publishing Stefan Zweig's works as a collection and the complete works of Kafka.

But smaller publishers such as Rotbuch or the newcomer Severin and Siedler can also hope to find steady buyers through their new programmes.

Roter Stern Verlag has now published the two Hyperion volumes as part of its laudable Hölderlin edition. The cost is already fully covered through subscription.

This new quality and tradition consciousness — a positive effect of our present economic slump — should not hide over the price that has to be paid for the austerity elsewhere.

The first printings of young and still unknown authors are no longer as large as they used to be because publishers shun the risk of being stuck with unsold copies and the attendant storage cost.

The fact that Suhrkamp Verlag will restrict itself to reprints rather than new titles is a case in point. Luchterhand and Klett-Cotta have also cut back on their new titles.

Others (like Rowohlt) do not believe in such austerity measures. They are trying to reduce their costs by changing the bindings of their books and by shifting some titles from hardcover to paperback.

Hardest hit are scientific publishers due to drastic cutbacks in library budgets. In some cases, their sales have gone down dramatically, and publishers who depend on state subsidies are faced with serious problems.

J. B. Metzler Verlag, which celebrates its 300th anniversary this year and has always remained faithful to the field of literary research, stands a reasonable chance of weathering the storm to come due to the loyalty of its private buyers. The publishers's problem lies in finding new material worth publishing.

The Frankfurt Fair shows that new ideas are as much in demand as good authors. "This is the era of innovation" is the general view at the fair.

The most plausible and promising concept that goes beyond the traditional publishing business has been presented by the Berlin art book publishers Frölich & Kaufmann who concentrate almost entirely on exhibition catalogues that are also sold by the book trade.

Religion, the central theme of this year's fair, made little impression.

There were many biographies of Martin Luther to mark the 500th anniversary of his birth next year. Apart from that, the major publishing houses were rather restrained on the subject of religion. Visitors also showed little enthusiasm about it. The special shows on "Yesterday's Religion in Today's World" and "World Religions" were not exactly swamped.

After a number of fat years the lean ones have arrived. But the publishers are still optimistic. Most are confident that they are well prepared to cope.

The change means not only a shrinking process but also a concentration on what is essential in literature.

Uwe Wittstock

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 11 October 1982)

Demand grow[s] for themes about religion

Religious book are gaining grou[nd] say publishers and bookshop o[wn]ers. This is because people are ask[ing] more questions about the meaning [of] life.

The theme of this year's Frankf[urt] Book Fair was religion. Special[ist] publishers of religious books and th[ose] who publish religious books only occ[a]sionally both agree that demand is i[n]creasing.

The nature of religious book is [al]so changing. Once it was specialised r[eli]gious works, breviaries, biographies [of] saints, childrens book and the like.

There were also glossy production[s] on religious art and fiction by autho[rs] dealing with Christian themes.

But now the field has become muc[h] wider. The Frankfurt Fair showed th[at] the number of titles available and sub[]jects dealt with is vast.

There are books describing the majo[r] religions — such as Judaism, Islam and Buddhism — and there are those tha[t] deal with small groupings, newly emerged sects and the wisdom of some obscure guru.

But despite these central themes, the Frankfurt event is not a specialised reli[]gious book fait but a major commercial enterprise aimed at public relations and sales.

This can best be demonstrated by [a] concrete example: there are more tha[n] two million Moslems in the Federal Re[]public and dealing with them is in a[] way a preserve of a few specialists. Un[]fortunately, however, literature on Is[]lam — both specialised and popular — is scattered all over the huge exhibition hall.

There is a flood of Luther biogra[]phies in connection with the Luther Year 1983 (500th anniversary of his birth). In addition to this tide of new works on Luther and the Reformation, publishers have reprinted a lot of the relevant works — some good and some not so good.

But those who had hoped that there would be a special show on the Reformation were disappointed.

Here, again, the books are scattered all over the place, some of them to be found in the special show of religious books as a whole while others can only be found at the individual stalls of the publishers. Yet other books on the Reformation are in the most unlikely places and can be stumbled on by chance.

The fair also demonstrates that the market regulates itself. As demand for religious literature in the broadest sense grew, even publishers who traditionally dealt with entirely different subjects jumped on the bandwagon — some of them with paperbacks.

A major sector of literature that has become popular is what can be summed up as "advice for all situations in life," based on a specific *Weltanschauung.*

Here, Christa Meves, with her 44 titles and overall sales of 2.6 million, wins the prize.

The question is: do such central themes as at this year's fair actually promote sales? The publishers are reticent in their answer, saying: "It doesn't do any harm."

Henk Ohnesorge

(Die Welt, 9 October 1982)

SOCIETY

Filling in a historical female gap

[..]n a determined opponent of wom[e]n's work in occupations that have [alw]ays been a male domain." This [sou]nds like a quote of our times; yet it [is] more than 80 years old and stems [fro]m the chairman of the Association of [Cle]rical Workers in Hamburg.

Twenty years later, a Leipzig jurist [de]plored the fact that people no longer []married as young as they used to [an]d that their willingness to have chil[dren] had also lessened. "Our nation is [dec]lining in that respect, he said.

"Why? Is it because women want to [wor]k instead of having children? Their [lo]w salaries also keep the salaries of [me]n down, making it impossible for [the]m to start a family. They compete not [onl]y in factories but also in clerical [wo]rk where women, irresponsibly, seek [wo]rk that is not meant for them."

The quotes are taken from the book *[Ber]ufsstand weiblich* (Occupation Fe[ma]le) by Ursula Nienhaus.

The author, a historian, makes a witty [an]d scholarly accurate attempt to re[tra]ce the everyday lives of female em[plo]yees — something history has so far [ne]glected.

The emphasis is on the Kaiser era [al]though the book begins with 1848 when [a] group of young salesmen and clerks [pe]titioned the Prussian Ministry of [St]ate to "do away with salesladies."

They spoke of "dirty competition" [an]d "double earners" and at one point [the]y even referred to them as a "[fe]male reserve army."

But such discriminatory attacks are [no]t the focal point of the book. The au[th]or concentrates on the activities and [st]ruggles of independent, union-like [se]lf-help organisations of women for [w]omen. The book tells a story fu" of "acceptance, detachment and con[tra]diction" which neither fits the tradi[ti]onal structure of classes nor pro[vi]des catchy autobiographies.

We can no longer ask these women about their destinies, so there is little of that nature to be found in the book. But statistics and other information tells us that millions of women were affected, among them poor wives, widows, daughters of middle class tradesmen and businessmen and wives of skilled workers, clerks and civil servants. Many of them had to provide for out of work husbands, parents and relatives.

They commanded the lowest rate of pay doing postal work or working as office help in industry, law offices and as doctors' help. Many were also salesladies.

They had little backing, lacked the most basic political rights, were poorly trained, underpaid and fought by male trade and occupational organisations.

Although women's work ran counter to bourgeois ideology, these poor daughters of the middle class were nevertheless not accepted by the proletariat.

The Social Democrats among office workers were "every bit as anti-feminist as their opposite numbers in factories. Female office workers interested them only inasmuch as they were dangerous rivals. A joint organisation of women and men was essentially aimed at ensuring that women's interests did not harm those of men.

There was no chance of changing this until 1889, when autonomous self-help organisations for women sprang up.

The first of these organisations for female office and sales help was founded in Berlin at a time when the 1850 Association Law, which excluded women from systematic political work, was still in effect. (The law remained in effect until 1908.)

"The young organisation had the Damocles sword of dissolution hanging over it; and social policy objectives could not even be hinted at," says the book.

They had to proceed extremely cautiously and butter up the wife of the president of police. It was anything but a good atmosphere in which to promote the hidden claim to political and social equality with male workers.

The main, cautiously formulated, aims on the society were to provide advice and information, help find work and lend support in emergencies.

The women must have felt a great need to organise themselves because barely a year after it was founded the society had 1,150 members.

Similar organisations sprang up throughout the country. But their activities rarely progressed beyond practical everyday work — though here they were successful.

The deficit in terms of theory made these organisations susceptible to conformism; and even brief contacts with other autonomous projects and the left-wing avant garde wing of the so-called bourgeois women's movement centering around Minna Cauert, Lily Braun and Linda Gustava Heymann did not alter this.

Lily Braun's envisaged cooperation with the Social Democrats never materialised. It foundered on the militant resistance of Emma Ihrer and Clara Zetkin for whom "proletarian class loyalty was more important than women's solidarity."

By the time World War I broke out at the latest it became obvious that neither the organised female office workers nor the bourgeois women's movement nor the Social Democrats had any concept of "capitalism as an international system that made a point of repressing women," says Ursula Nienhaus.

A dubious kind of nationalism made the "moderates" gain the upper hand in women's organisations. "Their attitudes showed that, though capable of organising themselves autonomously, female office workers were unable to think autonomously.

The book contributes towards dismantling the still existing division into so-called "bourgeois" (upper crust girls) and "proletarian" (revolutionary) women's movements. It does away with the cliché of apolitical and almost unorganisable women office workers.

But there is yet another thing the book shows: It is not enough for women to organise themselves autonomously. Claims to an autonomy that is not part of an overall concept of social change must lead up a blind alley.

A word of criticism: There might be readers who welcome the fact that the source material is contained in a separate volume, but I have been irritated by it. Moreover, the book is unnecessarily cumbersome to read.

The understandable attempt to separate interpretation and source material has not been solved satisfactorily and has annoyed me. I would have liked to have seen this rich and explosive material presented in a more pleasing way.

Verena Schuster

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 18 September 1982)

Unemployment: how it exacts its human toll

Psychological and sociological research into unemployment follows the ups and downs of the economy. When there is an economic slump and mass unemployment, researchers spend more time on it than when the economy is booming.

The heydays in this field were the 1930s when Germany had more than six million jobless and the post-1974 era when all Western countries began to be plagued by mass unemployment.

Even today's unemployment research owes much to the methods and conclusions of a 1933 study by Paul F. Lazarfeld, Hans Zeisel and Marie Jahoda entitled *Die Arbeitslosen von Marienthal* (The Jobless of Marienthal) which concluded that being out of work meant, above all, being breadless. The researchers found many cases of undernourishment or wrong diet.

But the fact that unemployment did not equal leisure time was almost as painful an experience for the jobless as was hunger.

One conclusion of the "sociographic essay" of 1933 that applies today every bit as much as it did then is the fact that the jobless person's experience of time changes in the long run. This change is in direct proportion to a reduction in the sense of awareness of the environment.

This leads to the therapeutic conclusion that the best thing for the jobless to do it to live as if he or she were still going to work.

The financial, social and, above all, psycho-physical stresses and strains of unemployment have since been thoroughly researched — among others by the staff of the Institute for Labour Market and Occupational Research in Nuremberg.

> **❛ Hopelessness and a tendency to avoid making social contact ❜**

The Institute concludes that people cannot become accustomed to unemployment. They have more pronounced depressive, unstable and irritable personality traits than people who have work.

There are three phases. In the six weeks after the lay-off there is almost a feeling of euphoria similar to that during holidays. This is followed in the fourth or fifth month by exhaustion.

These with above average skills tend to become neurotic. Family conflicts mount and, according to latest psychological findings, the family tends to demoralise rather than bolster the jobless person — contrary to popular belief.

In the third phase — after the sixth month — a feeling of hopelessness develops, coupled with a tendency to avoid social contracts.

This ushers in an inescapable psychological vicious circle that can best be summed up as: unemployment — feelings of guilt — lack of self-confidence — inactivity resulting in lack of mobility and, hence, continued unemployment,

Yet what matters most in overcoming unemployment or the threat of it is mobility.

Unfortunately, the ability to be the master of one's own destiny and find work again is stifled not only by economic factors but by personality developments as well.

In some cases, the strength to seek and hold a job wanes. Frequently, the social situation becomes so destabilised that any thought of a separation from the family or a change in the place of residence is ruled out.

Often strong ties to the former employer company makes the jobless person unable to work towards a change.

Latest psychological findings show that in cases where a company is threatened by a shut-down, most employees assume that the profitability of the company depends on their performance and that the bankruptcy can be averted if everybody does his best.

It is only the young and skilled workers who correctly interpret the signs of the company's decline.

So do some older workers with previous experience of being out of work because of company shutdowns.

The realism of these two groups contributes to their mobility both on the labour market and in their social environment.

The decisive elements here are not only the realistic assessment of a company's position, age and the duration of employment with the firm but also economic forecasts.

The Austrian psychologists Linde Pelzmann and Max Streit recently proved this in a field experiment that must be regarded as one of the more fortuitous incidents in unemployment research.

They were fortunate enough to learn in time that the women workers of a textile factory who had been laid off due to bankruptcy had formed two groups.

One group had put its faith in state assistance and believed forecasts to the effect that their jobs could still be saved. The other group had ignored it.

The result was that the "sceptics" were better able to cope and find new work than the group that believed in the favourable forecasts.

The conclusion arrived at at the annual meeting of the German Psychological Society in Mainz was that full information about the loss of jobs activates the self-help capability of the persons concerned while vague or embellished forecasts hamper the mobility of the jobless.

The range of responses in the latter case extends from plain waiting via passivity, resignation and helplessness all the way to total inability to take action — a state the American psychologist Seligman has described in his "theory of acquired helplessness."

The psychologists hope that their findings on the reasons for lack of mobility among the jobless will not only be a contribution to theory but will also be of practical use.

Much would be achieved if the findings could dispel the widerspread prejudice that it is the jobless' own fault if they are unemployed and that their sorry state will spur them into action anyway.

Frank Niess

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 7 October 1982)

■ OUR WORLD

Changing personality of Little Red Riding Hood

Hannoversche Allgemeine

Jack Zipes, an American fairytale researcher and professor at Wisconsin University, has written a book that examines the curious transformations in the past few centuries of Little Red Riding Hood from the "cute little thing" and "most lovely girl," as described by Bechstein and Grimm.

The book shows how the self-assured young girl of the Middle Ages was transformed into a pretty but rather silly girl by the 17th century French court and how she later became a sweet and extremely naive little creature.

Zipes also lists examples from recent feminist fairytale research and shows how this sweet little thing could only be a red rag to a bull for the feminist movement.

A paper on feminist fairytale research in the USA and Britain which Professor Zipes presented at the 28th Congress of the European Fairytale Society in Bad Karlshafen met with great all-round interest.

He showed how ridiculous and indeed pitiful researchers can be who turn fairytales into instruments of politics and the battle of the sexes.

Compared with Zipes, the other nine lecturers on "The Woman in Fairytales" were rather conservative.

Even so, Professor Heinz Rölleke presented some unusual aspects in his paper on "The Woman in the Grimm Brothers' Fairytales."

He said the women in the Grimm Brothers' tales are determined by the individual women who told the tales to the Grimm Brothers in the first place at the beginning of the last century.

Professor Rölleke divided the Grimm fairytale females into three categories: passive heroines like Sleeping Beauty and Snow White; heroines like Gretel, who only becomes active when forced to do so due to unfavourable circumstances; and women who take the initiative from the very beginning, like Goldmarie in *Frau Holle*.

Professor Rölleke related an anecdote from the life of the Grimm Brothers that reveals their personal attitudes towards the opposite sex: the brothers' estate contained a comedy, *Einer muss heiraten* (One Must Marry), by one Zeichmeister Wilhelmi.

The comedy deals with two brothers — clearly the Grimms — who decide to throw the dice to determine which of them will marry and thus provide a woman to keep house after their sister (and housekeeper) has married and left.

Though the dice determine that Jakob Grimm should marry, it is Wilhelm — by now aged 40 — who moves away with the attractive and much younger niece Lisette, while Jakob Grimm permanently weds science.

Professor Franz Vonessen, a Frankfurt historian who has been a fairytale researcher for the past 30 years, approached the role of women in fairytales from an entirely different angle.

His paper used the *Magna Mater* in fairytales to span a bridge from the heathen origins of fairytales to their retelling in Christian terms.

The *Magna Mater* as seen by Professor Vonessen is identical with such goodesses (depending on the region) as Gea or Dana, Artemis or Dadagha.

This religion dates back to the time when hunters and gatherers became farmers worshipping a powerful mother deity.

Remains of this *Magna Mater* worship can be found in a watered-down form in fairytales and their description of nature as man's true teacher. This includes the grandmother as the epitome of everything that is good — and strict.

Many Celtic fairytales are also based on such a *Magna Mater*. The Celts adopted such a deity during their wanderings through Europe.

In the sagas and tales of the island Celts, this deity usually occurs as a trinity of young girls symbolising youth, mothers symbolising birth and fulfilment, and old women symbolising death and rebirth.

Frederik Hetmann, who made a name for himself as publisher of fairytale anthologies and author of books for juveniles, thus included the Celtic fairytales in the larger context of popular European tales.

Indian fairytales, of which pre-Christian Vedic literature speaks, also have their roots in this Indo-European tradition, as pointed out by the Tübingen lecturer Häsing-Eswein in his paper on the role of women in Indian fairytales and the link between these tales and world literature.

Even Goethe knew and adapted Indian fairytales as in the case of *Sakuntala* or *Die Parialegende* (pariah legend). These tales were brought back to Europe by missionaries.

Heino Gehrts also dealt with the basic motifs the fairytales of all peoples have in common in his paper on "The Fairytale of the White Wolf — The Search Wanderings of the Woman."

According to Gehrts, fairytales in which a woman loses her (animal) lover by violating a commandment and regains him after many sacrifices exist throughout the world.

Incidentally, this type of fairytale also includes "Beauty and the Beast" which Jean Cocteau turned into a film with Jean Marais in the lead role.

The congress was rounded off by a great many work groups. The 800 participants were ble to choose among 22 such groups. Some of them dealt with such esoteric questions as whether Rumpelstiltskin was good or evil, whether Little Red Riding Hood was naive or foxy and whether the relationship between the witch in Hansel and Gretel was a suble depiction of the Oedipus complex.

Psychiatrists reported on their experience with fairytales as an instrument of therapy. And even those who simply wanted to enjoy a fairytale had an opportunity to do so in sessions of fairytale telling and marionette performances.

Margarete von Schwarzkopf

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 6 October 1982)

Girls dash the leisure theory

Bremen University researchers are challenging the widespread belief that leisure among young people is becoming more important than work.

They have found in a four-year study that, among other things, that girls at *Hauptschule* (a school leading to vocational training) see work as a way of achieving independence.

And girls don't accept jobs that are traditionally thought of as women's jobs such as sales assistant, secretary, hairdresser, kindergarten teacher or doctor's assistant.

They don't accept the wife-and-mother role from the very beginning, say the researchers. Neither do they view marriage as a way of getting provided for. Marriage does not make them push careers into a secondary role.

But there is often disappointment, because of unrealistic expectations about careers and marriage. If they can continue to work or not depends on whether jobs are available.

It is the labour market, in the final analysis, that determines whether young people can find work at all and if they will even have the chance of learning a trade.

Friedhelm Henkel

(Nordwest Zeitung, 6 October 1982)

Numbers, hou[r] after hour, just numbers

Few of Germany's 22 million t[ele]phone subscribers have any ide[a of] the working conditions of the wo[men] who operate the information service.

There are 6,800 women across the [na]tion providing information in shifts [at] 3,200 centres.

In Frankfurt, as an example, 46 wo[m]en give out an average of 13,000 ite[ms] of information a day. They sit in rows ("like battery chickens," said o[ne]) in a darkened room before 450 tele[vi]sion screens measuring 18 centime[tres] by 24 centimetres.

Information from microfilms appe[ars] on the screen in response to reque[sts] and a system of coordinates and gu[ide] rails help the operator find the corr[ect] screen as quickly as possible.

Each woman is expected to provi[de] 37 items of information an hour. But [in] reality it can be up to 50.

It is little wonder that after two hou[rs] before the screens, the operators find [it] difficult to read the information a[nd] many develop headaches.

Pay varies widely, depending on whe[ther] the operator is an employee or h[as] civil service status and length of servi[ce].

A 17-year-old beginner earn[s] DM1,550 gross a month while a 4[?]-year-old woman with 25 years of servi[ce] earns the top wage of DM2,600.

The roster is geared to demand, n[ot] the needs of the workers. There are fr[e]quent changes between shifts. Wee[k]ends are free every two or three weeks.

On average, they have to put in o[ne] night shift every ten days — a strain [on] the nerves, general health and fam[ily] life.

At peak hours, even the best planned duty roster is of little use and that's th[e] time when many callers get annoye[d] with the monotonous recorded messa[ge] "Please wait ... please wait."

A major strain is that the sophistica[]ted technology often breaks down. Th[e] locating viewers often fall apart, so [it] becomes impossible to find the appro[]priate place on the microfilm.

The capacity of the viewing appara[]tus has been increased from 136 tele[]phone book pages to 250. The magnifi[]cation has also been doubled, but this means that a small speck of dust on the microfilm becomes a huge spot.

Operators can take a 10-minute break every hour. They can double the break and take 20 minutes after two hours.

But they cannot take a paid half-hour lunch break any more. That was abolished in June at the request of the federal auditors.

The postal workers' union fears that the postal authority is, through cutbacks, saving 2,200 jobs.

There has already been a protest in Frankfurt. A group occupied Germany's only information service for foreign telephone numbers and brought it to a halt.

But the postal authority was unimpressed. The Bonn Ministry of Posts and Telegraphs will carry on cutting back, no matter if there are more protests, a spokesman said.

Each request for information costs DM1.65, including wages, says the ministry, and the numbers of local subscribers can be found in the telephone book.

That's if you have one.

dpa

(Die Welt, 8 October 1982)

Continued from page 10

finds involves scientists from the university of Freiburg and specialists from the universities of Basle, Hohenheim and Tübingen.

Archaeologists and natural scientists work together closely on the latest research into the settlements, economy and environment of prehistoric man.

The question as to why people in the Stone Age built their settlements and villages in the unhealthy climatic conditions of the moor areas still puzzles researchers.

Only about five per cent of the set of historic monuments in the ground recorded in 1830 have been maintained. Despite new laws on the protection of historic monuments, advanced technologies and the information gathered by archaeologists, the sites have not been safeguarded. The photographic and cartographic coverage of directly endangered monuments is not enough.

A thorough scientific appraisal of our cultural heritage requires the appropriate degree of personnel and finance.

Otherwise, the ground researchers will have to watch helplessly as more and more sites are eradicated. They are forced to accept compromises and select focal areas of operation. If it were not for short-term aid, donations and private initiative, many a historical source would have disappeared unnoticed.

A further ray of hope: public interest in excavations is on the rise. A number of publications provide information on the methods and the present level of research. Archaeological protection of historic monuments, says the chairman of the local Archaeologists' Association, Hugo Borger, has become a necessity of life, for after all, doesn't it enable us to see the wrinkles in the face of our own culture?

Barbara Dreifert

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 1 October 1982)

[M]ODERN LIVING

The honorary consul: life without an honorary doctorate

Lübecker Nachrichten

[The]re are almost 350 honorary con[su]ls in the Federal Republic of Ger[many]. And they are a mixed crowd.

[Th]e appointment is the highest point [...] for many, says Peter Metzger, [head] of the department in Bonn Fo[reign] Office that is responsible for fo[reign] legations. "If they can't become [honor]ary doctors, they'll try honorary [consul]", he says.

[For] many years only rich and highly [regar]ded people became honorary con[suls] but today anyone can, in theory. [The sm]aller the country, in rough terms, [the m]ore honorary consuls it has. Sene[gal an]d El Salvador, for example, both [have e]ight in West Germany. Bangla[desh h]as five. The United States allows [m]any consuls inside the US but uses [p]rofessionals itself.

[The] honourability of the consuls var[ies an]d so do their life styles: all they [have] in common is their title. Some [prize] that title greatly. Others don't. [Some] are highly obvious about their [...] others are not.

[Han]s David Ziegra is a personage of [...]weight physically and socially.

[In] the telephone directory his occu[pation] is referred to as "consul" his blue [Merce]des resplendently bears a CC [plate] (denoting the Corps Consulaire) [at] the front and at the back. His [...] villa boasts an even larger consu[lar es]cutcheon.

[Th]e one-man retired industrialist, [...]r and singer represents the Peo[ple's] Republic of Benin, once Daho[mey, a] country on Africa's west coast.

[Adm]ittedly, this honorary consul in [Lower] Saxony doesn't make a big thing [of] his country, since the victors of [the 1]972 military putsch chose a marx[ist re]gime.

[Alth]ough he hasn't been 'back home' [...] he has to reckon on being "taken [...]" at any time.

[He] has his own ideas about what a [Marx]ist change of system means for [the in]dividual: "[R]e-educated, forced into line, work[ing in] quarries, that sort of thing."

[Th]e Beninist consul has his own way [of pro]testing against the political situa[tion i]n Benin.

[On e]very possible official occasion he [make]s sure the old green-yellow-and-[red n]ational flag is hoisted, not the new [...].

"[T]here's something about the star of [the S]oviets I don't like", he remarks. Up [to no]w this high-handedness has not led [to tr]ouble with the Benin ambassador.

[Th]e consul has six "protégés" within [his ar]ea of jurisdiction. They don't bo[ther] him a great deal and do not receive [an in]vitation when Ziegra puts on a [beer] and champagne get-together for "[the] leading lights of society".

[On]ly the best will do, after all he's [earne]d his money like the best of them [and c]an afford to splash it about a bit".

[Hi]s entertainment easily costs him [DM]10,000 a month: "You've got to be a [milli]onaire to manage that". One won[ders] why Hans David Ziegra was cho[sen] for this honorary office 15 years [ago].

[Zi]egra himself finds it easy to answer. "[I kn]ow my way around. I've done a tre[men]dous amount for these people. I [spea]k five languages, I've travelled to [ove]r 70 countries."

And anyway, he is a most honourable personality, a "persona gratissima" Some of his colleages in the Consular Corps do not quite see eye to eye on this.

Forcing a smile, one of them passes judgment: "They're a mixed bunch". There is certainly no love lost between them, and defamation of character, even court cases are no rarity.

Under the watchful public eye, however, particularly when cameras and flashlights are around, the consuls are most polite to one another.

Just like during the official reception held by Consul Hermann Bahlsen, for example, in celebration of Austria's national holiday.

Back-slapping, smiling, they drink to absent friends and sit back on those delightful couches to indulge in small talk.

The Hanoverian biscuit manufacturer Bahlsen always tried to introduce an original flavour to his savoury social duties, a different motto each time.

This time he invited the Austrian ethnologist, Dr Lotte Schomerus-Gernböck, to talk and show slides on "My Life among the Madagascans". Courteous applause rewarded her witty commentary.

The 56 year-old Bahlsen, a qualified engineer and, as head of the family enterprise, responsible for 11,000 employees, did not insist on the title of consul.

On the contrary, when business friends asked him whether he would be willing to take on the job he needed time to think it over.

His wife was really worried: "Will we then always have to go skiing in Austria?"

To be on the safe side he asked the finance office whether he could tax-deduct his consular expenditure as operational costs for his firm, pointing out: "Surely the aim cannot be to make private development aid payments from taxed income."

In the case of most honorary consuls the finance offices do not accept the costs ensuing from the carrying out of official duties as tax deductable. However, this is a matter of discretion and Hermann Bahlsen was lucky.

His consular office caters for six-and-a-half thousand Austrians; there's plenty of work to do.

Two female secretaries and a (female) chief secretary are responsible for extending passports, issuing transit visas to foreigners, authorising documents, sorting out matters of inheritance and helping Austrian citizens out of a difficult situation if the need arises.

The duties an honorary consul is expected to perform are laid down in detail by the government of the country for which he is employed.

General stipulations on the rights and duties are defined in the 1963 "Vienna Agreement on Consular Relations" The total of 79 articles have tried to cover all cases of doubt, for example:

"The consular archives and documents are inviolable at aöö times, irrespective of their whereabouts." As opposed to diplomats, honorary consuls only en joy a limited degree of personal immunity.

If they wish to avoid receiving a penalty for traffic offences or undergoing a blood test they must prove that their offences were committed while "on duty".

Must honorary consuls tend to shy away from legal disputes in such cases, in particular to avoid getting mentioned in the local press.

Either the embassy of a country recommends a man of their own choice to the German government or they ask for a list of candidates, which, following consultation with the local chamber of industry and commerce, is completed by the state chancellery of the Federal state in which the honorary consul is to live.

The selected person is examined and in some cases required to show references. He can be refused if he has a previous conviction, a national socialist history or is in debt.

Twice in recent years the Foreign Office has refused to issue the obligatory exequatur for the appointment of a consul.

"We are most critical", says legationary counsellor Metzger. This tough line has been the cause of many a complaint by an ambassador or the rejected person himself.

Metzger, however, is convinced this is the right approach: "If we employ strict criteria for selection and subsequently maintain a high standard, out problems later will be kept to a minimum."

It is an open secret that now and again five or six-digit sums are involved when a new consul is appointed or another one recalled.

Even if the Foreign Office or state chancellery officials become suspicious, or even quite certain, that somebody has been showing their gratitude, they still stay covered.

The usually suffer from lack of evidence, would be wasting their time looking for voluntary witnesses, and know only too well that such payments can easily be disguised as a generous donation, say for an ambulance.

It is up to each country itself whether it appoints honorary consuls or not.

The Consular Corps would appear to have a male edge. There are only a dozen women.

The only one in Baden-Württemberg is Maria Krebs, Costa Rica's honorary vice-consul, in charge of the administrative region of Karlsruhe. She was born 76 years ago, daughter of a coffee planter of German origin, in the country which she has been representing since 1961.

Mrs Krebs is entitled to keep eight per cent of the fees she officially charges for authorisations. In view of her thrift this is almost enough to cover her costs.

This widow does not feel obliged to put on lavish receptions and galas. She only invites "my youngsters", fourteen Costa-Rican students, for regular get-togethers, one in September for the national holiday and once at Christmas.

The sandwiches for the cold buffet are home-made, and she often bakes biscuits for the occasion.

There are not too many prominent personalities among the consuls. Max Grundig for Mexico, Grete Schickedanz for Greece, Rudolf Miele and Hermann Bahlsen for Austria, Franz Burda junior for Indonesia and Paul Schnittker for France.

The most important is probably Rudolf von Bennigsen-Foerder, managing director of the national energy group, Veba.

With the approval of the board of directors and "in the interests of his own country" he represents the Kingdom of Norway in Düsseldorf; the Norwegian trading centre is affiliated.

The most busy top manager devotes about five out of 1,000 minutes to Norway, and at the same time sees himself as a coordinator between a country in which there is an abundance of oil and gas and the Federal Republic of Germany which is forced to import both.

Bennigsen-Foerder is always there when Norwegian ministers call in at Bonn or German delegations visit Oslo. He arranges many such contacts and those he doesn't he knows about.

One ought to believe the man at the top of Germany's most powerful company when he assures us: "I have always had an easy-going attitude towards social attributes. And nowadays I really don't need to parade my titles in public." Honorary consuls would also seem to be a case in which pomposity is inversely proportional to personality.

Claus Bienfait

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 26 September 1982)

Canonisation of priest

Continued from page 11

of the blessed Kolbe as a "true martyr of the faith".

"The whole ideology of National Socialism was clearly contrary to Christian morals.

This was particularly apparent in the concentration camps, where with premeditated cruelty and disregarding God's and man's laws millions of human beings were oppressed".

Just part of the letter to the Pope. A further reason is mentioned. Father Kolbe was arrested without political motivation but in his capacity as the head of a religious order. According to the German and Polish bishops special attention should be given to the reports by eye-witnesses on why the camp commander Fritsch accepted Kolbe's offer to take the place of a fellow-prisoner:

When asked who he was, he answered, I am a Catholic priest".

Im Rome, where attitudes towards religion are dominated by a more Mediterranean approach, with less problems, the significance of the recognition as a martyr is not generally reciprocated.

The general postulator for affairs dealing with Kolbe, the Sardinian Minorite Father Sanna sees the situation as follows: "Once somebody has been canonised, it is surely not that important whether that someone is just a saint or a saint and a martyr."

Christa Peduto

(Der Tagesspiegel, 10 October 1982)